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Bonn and Paris still facing Reykjavik repercussions



Adenauer and de Gaulle made history in signing the 1963 Elysée Treaty. Schmidt and Giscard d'Estaing boosted Franco-German ties by playing politics as the art of the possible.

But the political descendants of Adenauer and de Gaulle have departed from the tradition. They seem to have substituted gestures for politics.

They are either unable or unwilling to progress towards European integration, the basis of which is Franco-German cooperation. Is it the first or the second?

Are there a lack of common objectives? Or are there really barriers too high for them to get over? Are relations beset by temporary ill-feeling? Or is dissent seated deeper?

A more level-headed assessment shows that Bonn and Paris are still facing the repercussions of Reykjavik.

The agreement almost reached between the superpowers on the withdrawal of medium-range missiles led to different views on what was to follow the zero solution.

In Bonn sights are set at short-range Soviet missiles and Warsaw Pact conventional armaments. It would like to see guided missiles stationed in East Germany and Czechoslovakia on the agenda of the next round of disarmament talks.

Alfred Dregger, leader of the CDU parliamentary party in Bonn, says: the shorter the range, the more German the effect.

France sees it differently. It is swiftly enlarging its nuclear *force de frappe*, starting with the strategic submarine fleet and ending with the manufacture of the new short-range Hades missile.

Disarmament is felt more alarming. President Mitterrand and Premier Chirac may have endorsed the zero solution, but not out of inner conviction; they merely wanted to spare the Atlantic pact a further tensile test.

The outlines of a medium-range missile agreement between the superpowers in Geneva worry Paris on two counts:

- Washington's willingness to withdraw US Pershing 2 and cruise missiles is taken as evidence of America's intention of gradually pulling out of Western Europe.

Paris is afraid US missiles may sooner or later be followed by US troops.

- The common interest shared by Bonn and East Berlin in a reduction of short-range missiles and theatre weapons has prompted deep-seated fears that Germany might go it alone.

The link between disarmament and reunification drawn by Bernhard Friedmann, a CDU member of the Bonn Bundestag, is taken more seriously in France than in the Federal Republic.

Fears of a repeat of Rapallo, with Germany coming to terms with the Soviet Union at the West's expense, are still very much alive in the minds of French observers with a keen sense of history.

Consideration for France was one reason why Chancellor Kohl dismissed Friedmann's ideas so swiftly.

In the run-up to East Berlin leader Erich Honecker's visit to the Federal Republic Bonn wants to avoid ambiguity and any doubt about Germany's reliability as a partner of the West.

This may even be the main motive behind the Chancellor's proposal to set up a joint Franco-German army brigade.

This will remain a gesture for as long as there is no clear concept. A joint attempt to draw up security policy aims is long overdue. These aims must, however, be geared to what is practicable rather than what is opportune.

Henri Froment-Meurice, a former French ambassador in Bonn, described the dilemma:

"A return of the French armed forces to the integrated command structure of the North Atlantic pact is no solution. The Germans must not expect it.

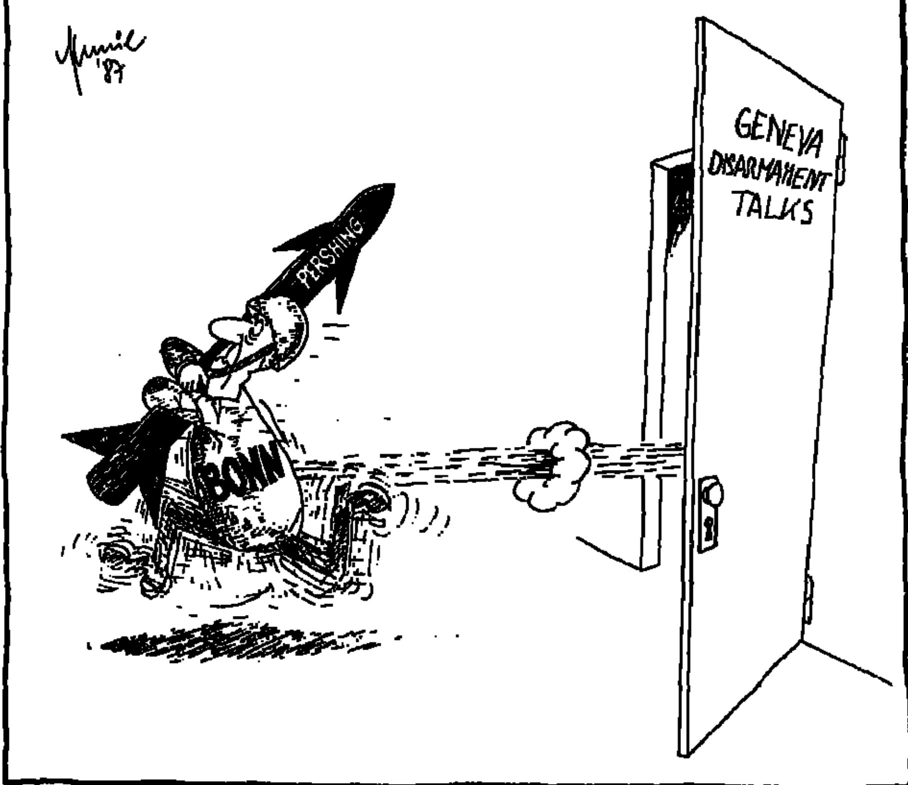
"Withdrawing the German armed forces from the integrated command would not be the answer either. The Germans must not follow France's example.

"What inference is to be drawn? There can be no other solution and no other target in the foreseeable future than European integration."

That is more than vague. Bonn's views are no more specific either. The realisation, over and above Gaullist security concepts, that France's strategic border starts at the Elbe and not at the Rhine has not yet had practical consequences.

Former French Defence Ministers Pierre Messmer and Charles Hernu have suggested stationing French missiles in Germany, but that is impracticable because it is politically out of the question

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(Cartoon: Felix Mussil/Frankfurter Rundschau)

Soviets name aging German Pershings as scapegoat

Soviet Foreign Minister Edward Shevardnadze has made an unexpectedly blunt speech levelling bitter accusations at the Federal Republic of Germany.

He said at the disarmament conference that Bonn was trying to prevent a comprehensive agreement on missile disarmament between the superpowers.

Bonn's insistence on retaining the Bundeswehr's outmoded Pershing 1A missiles, the nuclear warheads of which are kept under US lock and key, was blocking progress.

Mr Shevardnadze made no mention of the short-range Soviet nuclear missiles stationed in East Germany, in Czechoslovakia and — no doubt — in Poland.

Contrary to expectations he mentioned chemical weapons, conventional disarmament and other demobilisation measures only in passing. It is far from easy to figure out the purpose of the Soviet outburst. Does Moscow really need a new view of its enemy should a full-scale disarmament agreement with the United States fail to achieve the desired result?

The Kremlin certainly wants to prevent, come what may, Washington from

Nordwest Zeitung NWZ

including the Pershing 1As stationed in the Federal Republic on the shorter-range intermediate missile agenda.

Moscow would prefer to include its own short-range missiles, or so it would seem, as a bargaining point in later rounds of conventional disarmament talks.

A further point to be noted is that it is not the first time Moscow has sounded the alarm when proposals have been discussed that provide for Bonn to have a say in nuclear deterrent strategy.

The Soviet Union has always said German nuclear weapons — or a German finger on the nuclear trigger — would be a ground for war as far as it is concerned. Despite the Soviet overkill potential this prospect evidently gives rise to primal fears.

No Bonn government has as much as tried to get a finger anywhere near the nuclear trigger. Even the mistrustful Soviet Union has yet to succeed in proving Bonn guilty of the slightest breach of the nuclear non-proliferation treaty.

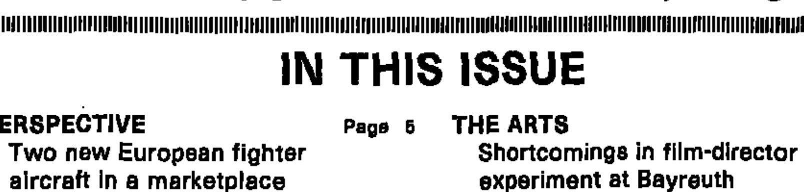
It is hard not to gain the impression that Moscow sees the proposed closer Franco-German military cooperation as a thorn in the flesh.

Attempts by France, a minor nuclear power, to move its nuclear weapon carriers closer to the intra-German border are clearly anathema to the Soviet Union.

The Kremlin is keen to continue preventing Bonn, come what may, from playing an active role in nuclear defence

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IN THIS ISSUE



■ WORLD AFFAIRS

Iran and the Middle East: looking for a way of extinguishing a burning fuse

DIE ZEIT

Iraq and Iran have been at war for nearly seven years, so the Gulf War has already been waged for longer than World War II.

Its human toll has so far been one million dead and wounded and untold horrors ranging from poison gas to a war of attrition maybe best described as *mincemeat tactics*.

One in three oil tankers and merchant vessels — 114 out of 333 — attacked has had to be written off as a total loss. Yet no-one has been too upset about the distant hostilities.

Persian Gulf oil, now accounting for only 13 per cent of consumption in the non-communist world and two per cent of West German demand, has continued to be shipped through the Strait of Hormuz.

Higher insurance premiums have similarly failed to upset anyone unduly.

Fighting between Baghdad and Teheran seemed to have been contained by a balance of powerlessness. With neither side able to decide the outcome, the superpowers steered clear of direct involvement in the hostilities.

This composure has suddenly gone with the wind. *The mine that punched a nine by four metre hole in the side of the Bridgeton* impressed on the world at large the threat to oil supplies.

The Americans have shown the flag in yet another *ill-conceived tour de force* by President Reagan, enhancing the regional conflict into a clash between the superpowers.

Bloody Friday in Mecca has also shown horizontal escalation to be in full swing, with the Iran-Iraq theatre in the process of extension to include the entire Arab world, especially Saudi Arabia.

The powder kegs are full to the brim and the sparks are flying everywhere. The Security Council's unanimous appeal to the belligerents to lay down their arms has had no effect; so much for the UN's firefighting role.

At one fell swoop it is now clear that the Gulf War is much more than a violent clash between states along conventional historical lines.

Territorial claims and hegemonial ambitions are not at stake. Not even the longstanding hostility between Persians and Arabs is at issue.

What we are experiencing is a religious war, inspired by missionary fervour and a doctrine of salvation that leave scant leeway for raison d'état.

Ayatollah Khomeini embodies this sentiment in its most clearly marked form. His inexorable fundamentalism meets with approval and musters support further afield than in Iran or in the Shi'ite community outside Iran.

Given what many Moslems see as alienation, departure from basic principles and acceptance of too much that comes from the West, it is hardly surprising that there has been an Islamic backlash from Morocco to Indonesia.

As the Swiss historian Jacob Burckhardt wrote a century ago, "any rapprochement with Western culture seems to be absolutely pernicious for the Moslem community."

Elites may have adopted Western ideas on reform and a lay society. Even the puritanical Wahabites have endorsed technological progress in Saudi Arabia.

But the Moslem masses, who associate these changes mainly with corrup*tion and moral decline, prefer funda*mentalism and the traditional way of life.

Theirs is a simple preference, based on the Prophet's teachings, governed by a theocratic system and by clearly-held beliefs.

The Speaker of the Iranian Parliament, Hashemi Rafsanjani, who is felt to be a "moderate" member of the Majlis, does no more than express what every fundamentalist feels when he says:

"Islam is important because it is capable of surmounting Western civilisation."

He draws no distinction between communists and capitalists. Both are execrable and Islamic radicals will have nothing to do with either of them.

Khomeini's supporters hold a "neither East nor West" viewpoint that is perhaps best described as negative neutrality. *It is an explosive approach in the* Soviet context, bearing in mind the 50 million Mohammedans in the Soviet Union.

This is the background against which the latest developments between Beirut *and Bandar Abbas must be seen. Poli*tics is also involved, of course, and thus both arms and diplomacy, but aircraft carriers will not put down a cultural revolution and the leeway for diplomacy is limited where not interests and how to reconcile them but salvation is at stake.

So much is unclear, not to say absurd, about President Reagan's commitments in the Persian Gulf. He has, for instance, sided with Iraq. Why?

Iraq was the aggressor. It started the war in September 1980. It was the first to attack oil tankers in 1984. Baghdad has been to blame for most raids on merchant shipping, not to mention the missile attack on the *USS Stark*.

President Reagan has sent the US Navy into treacherous waters with a propaganda hullaballoo — but with what success?

In his Presidency the horrendous sum of $592bn has been invested in the US Navy, but it isn't equipped to handle the gravest danger — mines — and had to scurry into safety in the lee of the tankers it was escorting as soon as the first incident occurred.

That made a laughing stock of the whole operation, whereupon the President called on America's European allies to lend a helping hand at sea, but his request was promptly turned down by them all.

Rightly so, one is bound to add, since if the allies are to take part in the proceedings they ought at least to have been consulted beforehand. The Bonn government doesn't need to seek refuge behind constitutional niceties on this point.

But America's allies were no more consulted than the US Congress was, and Capitol Hill is still wondering just what the President has in mind.

Is he planning a showdown with Khomeini? Does he have visions of High Noon in the desert? Whatever his objective, President Reagan has allowed the initiative to be wrested from him.

He is totally dependent on Iraq not resuming its raids on foreign shipping. If the Iraqis strike, Iran can be sure to strike back. And what then?

Diplomacy holds forth better options — relatively speaking. The superpowers have adopted a joint approach in the UN Security Council. Their congruence of interest could be further extended.

They might, for instance, reach agreement on punitive measures such as an arms embargo or trade sanctions if Iran were to continue to turn a deaf ear.

On the other hand they might succeed in arranging an honourable armistice the terms of which, while not forcing *Baghdad to capitulate unconditionally*, entailed the sacrifice of the Iraqi leader, President Saddam Hussein, who started the fighting in the first place.

There must be no euphoria. Khomeini has yet to show any sign of readiness to negotiate, and peace would oblige him to face up to his country's real problems.

Has he any real intention of doing so? And even if peace were to return, would he dispense with Messianic gestures?

Or does he belong to the category of national leaders who constantly open up new fronts and espy fresh enemies to be "annihilated" until such time as they themselves are defeated?

This prospect is one that seems to worry a number of the Ayatollah's advisers. No-one knows how much weight their views carry. Diplomacy is needed to supply them with political and economic arguments rather than with armaments.

President Reagan's readiness to negotiate must also be questioned. *Diplomacy is not his favourite option*; he prefers to send in the Marines, as it were. What is more, he has never been able to decide who his enemy in the Gulf is: Iran or the Soviet Union. The idea of joining forces with Mr Gorbachov in the honest broker's role goes against the grain with Mr Reagan. He baulks at this idea — even at the risk of providing the Russians with an opportunity of playing the peacemaker again along the lines of Tashkent.

But, as *The Independent*, London, put it: "America cannot behave as though it were a one-country United Nations." Its European allies ought to strongly urge Washington to make use of the UN peace machinery.

A hundred years ago Jacob Burckhardt wrote: "Those who are either unable or unwilling to annihilate the Moslems are best advised to leave them alone." That was before the oil era; nowadays it would be poor policy. We must pay attention to *the Islamic* world.

Maybe the Gulf War will fade away as the warring parties grow steadily weaker. Then everything would remain as before. But what if Iran were to emerge triumphant?

America would face the grim choice of either beating an inglorious retreat, as it did from Lebanon a few years ago, or challenging the Ayatollah's *victory* — with the attendant risk of a superpower confrontation.

Even an ongoing stalemate would be a fairly dismal prospect. It could easily lead to a Lebanisation of the entire Gulf region.

Reluctant though the protagonists may be to bite the bullet of diplomacy, they must give it a chance. The prospects for diplomacy are poor enough; it will at best resolve a single conflict rather than bring lasting peace to the Middle East.

The region has yet to assume its final shape. The wave of fund*amentalism* is not yet over by any stretch of the imagination either.

Richard Löwenthal recently said the clash with Islamic extremism would be the real issue that faced the next generation. His instinct probably points in the right direction.

East-West antagonism is on the decline and might well be reduced to the ordinary level of rivalry in dealings between states.

At the same time the Arab-Israeli conflict is forfeiting the crucial significance it has enjoyed for 40 years in the political topography of the Middle East.

The world can expect to face other worries. Not Yasser Arafat's PLO but the pro-Iranian Hizbollah units *will give* occasion for bated breath. The smaller conflict will merge with the much larger one.

These worries of the future are no reason for doing nothing here and now. Where so much dynamite has been stockpiled as in the Middle East every effort to stamp out a burning fuse is well worthwhile.

Theo Sommer

(Die Zeit, Hamburg, 7 August 1987)

Shevardnadze

Continued from page 1

provisions as part of any conceivable new security system that might emerge.

Mr Shevardnadze's Geneva speech is naturally a particularly pressing reminder to East Berlin leader Erich Honecker to stress disarmament and the prevention of war as a major, not to say the outstanding, issue for discussion during his visit to Bonn.

It goes without saying that his speech was also intended to appease Soviet brasshats, who are neither able nor willing to part company overnight with Soviet enemy visions of old.

Last but not least, it demonstrated that fine words alone are not enough to foster German-Soviet friendship.

Under Mr Gorbachov, as under his predecessors, the Soviet Union is pursuing ice-cold great power policies.

Josef Piaskowsky

(Nordwest Zeitung, Oldenburg, 7 August 1987)

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■ HOME AFFAIRS

SPD and FDP try again to end Hamburg stalemate

Frankfurter Rundschau

Hamburg is still without a majority government even though the election was held in May. The Social Democrats, who went into the poll as minority office-holder, increased their vote to emerge as the single biggest party — but still without an absolute majority.

Weeks of coalition talks with the Free Democrats have so far produced no result. Some of the sticking points have been major. But many have been petty, even ridiculous. Now the parties have returned after a four-week summer break — and the mood is more optimistic.

But optimism can't obscure the big differences that remain, especially on economic issues. This applies nationally as well as in Hamburg.

Hamburg, a city-state, has a long tradition of close collaboration between Social Democrats and trade unions, especially in the public sector.

This is the very sector in which the powerful business wing of the Free Democrats would like changes. It was clear that this would be a stumbling block — and so it has been.

Small steps and mutual concessions may be made, but the FDP, with six per cent of the votes in the election, cannot force on the SPD changes along the lines brought about in Bonn, where the Free Democrats are junior partners in a coalition with Chancellor Kohl's Christian Democrats. The SPD is too strong in Hamburg for that.

But some Social Democrats in Hamburg have yet to realise, after years of absolute-majority rule, that they can no longer do as they please.

Last winter, the SPD almost went into Opposition in Hamburg's assembly. It recovered in May but now depends on FDP support for a majority. FDP backing is available, but at a price.

Instead of accepting this starting-point, which was surely self-evident, the two parties embarked on petty bickering over who was to get which job — so much so that their talks at times seemed less like an attempt to negotiate coalition terms than a political game of winners and losers.

Neue Heimat, the financially beleaguered trade union-owned housing corporation, for example.

The Social Democrats have offered to bail it out by buying its Hamburg housing stock. Views differ on the terms, but at times the Neue Heimat debate has sounded more like an attempt to solve all the country's political and economic ills.

Hamburg may like to style itself the gateway to the world, but world affairs are not decided in the city. It has a pile of more immediate problems ranging from unemployment well above the national average to heavy municipal debts.

A coalition agreement must at least concentrate on what is feasible, yet the two parties still seem to be debating the grand design.

Hamburg's Free Democrats have repeatedly conveyed the impression that both sides have first sought to gain acceptance of their special wishes.

Lack of political experience may be involved here, but that cannot be accepted as an excuse. In the final analysis even parties with special interests must be capable of negotiating larger policy packages.

It is particularly embarrassing when a politician such as Wilhelm Rahlfs, FDP leader in the assembly, puts his own name forward as Economic Affairs Senator.

He may have his merits, but they don't qualify him for this crucial post.

What makes matters particularly embarrassing is the fact that his party has nailed to its mast the colours of economic renewal in the city.

The first round of post-recess talks has conveyed the impression that swift progress is now to be made toward negotiating coalition terms.

There is little choice at present. Failure to come to terms would have unforeseeable consequences both for Hamburg and for the two parties.

Hopes, harboured by the city's FDP leader Ingo von Münch for one, of Hamburg sounding the clarion call for a fresh round of Social and Free Democratic collaboration all over the country have proved somewhat too sanguine.

The coalition agreement that has made the most headlines nationwide has been the decision to go ahead with local government franchise for foreign residents in Hamburg.



I'm going that way, says Hamburg FDP leader Ingo von Münch (right) to Hamburg Mayor Klaus von Dohnanyi (SPD). (Photo: Poly-Press)

Both parties were committed to the move, so it could no longer be postponed. Despite persistent legal objections they were bound to get down to brass tacks on this issue.

Hamburg's borough councils may lack powers enjoyed by local councils in other *Länder*, but that need not be a drawback. Hamburg could well blaze a trail on votes for foreign residents.

But an SPD-FDP coalition in Hamburg is unlikely to upset the balance of ties between the Bonn coalition parties, much though they may differ on a number of issues at the moment.

If anything, the coalition talks in Hamburg have had the opposite effect, showing above all how widely powerful groups within the SPD and FDP still differ, especially on economic policy.

Hamburg may at most affect neighbouring Bremen, which is to go to the polls on 13 September.

In Schleswig-Holstein, where state assembly elections are also to be held next month, the Free Democrats have sided with the CDU and look askance at their fellow-Liberals in Hamburg.

They are so irritated by the coalition talks in Hamburg that they have not yet seen fit to invite the city's FDP leader, Professor von Münch, to campaign in Schleswig-Holstein.

Karsten Plog

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 6 August 1987)

Extreme right aims to hit CDU in Bremen

Bremen, which goes to the polls on 13 September, is the smallest *Land* both in size and population. It has an area of 404 square kilometres and a population of roughly 660,000.

Bremen is an SPD stronghold. The party has had an absolute majority for years. It is unlikely to lose this, but there could be some surprises.

Three right-wing extremist parties are putting up candidates: the DVU, backed at great financial cost by Dr Gerhard Frey, the proprietor of a right-wing weekly newspaper; the neo-Nazi FAP; and the Republicans.

The Republicans were modestly successful at the last election in Bavaria last year, where they are run by a publicist, Franz Schönhuber.

There were three Republicans in the outgoing Bremen assembly, but they were elected as Christian Democrats and changed parties in mid term.

They are unlikely to be re-elected. None of the three parties are expected to poll the five per cent needed for election, especially as the extreme right-wing vote will be split between them.

But all three want to take votes from the CDU and do on the right wing of the political spectrum what the Greens have done to the SPD on the Left.

The CDU's role in Bremen ranges from desperate to tragi-comic, rather like the SPD's in Bavaria.

Bremen's Christian Democrats may style themselves political watchdogs of the Social Democrats, whose absolute majority rule is unchallenged, but they polled only 33.3 per cent four years ago and a mere 28.9 per cent in last January's general election.

The Bremen CDU is an old and toothless watchdog and seems even to have forgotten how to bark.

It is fielding a new No. 1 candidate, Reinhard Metz, but even less is seen and heard of him than of his predecessor, Bernd Neumann.

Neumann has taken over Metz's seat in the Bonn Bundestag and still poses a challenge to Metz as *Land* CDU chairman.

The Christian Democrats must be seriously worried their support may slump to below 30 per cent next month.

Like the three right-wing extremist groups, the Free Democrats hope to take their pick from traditional CDU voters. In 1983 the FDP polled 4.6 per cent and stayed out in the cold.

The CDU says the FDP has copied the Christian Democratic manifesto yet plans to join forces with the Social Democrats (like the Free Democrats in Hamburg).

Yet the Bremen FDP has chosen as its slogan not a specific policy item but the unimaginative tag "Back into Parliament!"

That is clearly the FDP's first priority, but it also implies that policies are of secondary consideration.

In point of fact the Bremen FDP steers an erratic course between the pragmatic approach of Foreign Minister Genscher and the hard-nosed economic Liberalism championed by former Economic Affairs Minister Lambsdorff.

Yet Bremen's Free Democrats are among the most moderate. Their leader for just over the past year, Claus Jäger, a 43-year-old lawyer, is considered a left-wing Liberal.

The Bremen FDP is so lacking in profile that its main strength is the strength of it voting trend nationwide.

In Bremen — unlike elsewhere — it is not felt to be particularly competent on economic policy.

That is due to the convincing performance of Social Democrat Klaus Wedemeier as Lord Mayor. He may only have taken over from Hans Koschnick two years ago but he has done well.

With unemployment running at 15.9 per cent, the highest *Land* level in the country (while not forgetting roughly 100,000 commuters from neighbouring Lower Saxony), he has concentrated on economic affairs and finance as policy issues.

His personality and the imaginative way in which he has set about creating new jobs against the background of crisis in shipbuilding and steel have earned him the respect and support of trade and industry as well as that of his fellow-Social Democrats.

His well-prepared, personally presented and successful appeal to the Constitutional Court in Karlsruhe against the terms of revenue redistribution between the *Länder* was particularly impressive.

His quiet, reliable manner and the way in which he makes no bones about the problems faced by Bremen and Bremerhaven have enhanced his authority both in Bremen and in Bonn so fast that surveys show him to enjoy the popularity of Hans Koschnick in his heyday.

His personal popularity is several per cent *higher than his party's*, and the SPD is in fine fettle too. Recent surveys indicate that it might well retain its absolute majority of 51.4 per cent and 58 seats in the House.

Bremen's SPD fared less well last January, polling 46.5 per cent in the general election. Its campaign strategists are also worried by the large number of don't knows and by the possibility of a poor turnout.

They lack a central campaign issue such as a shipyard closure. So the SPD seems likely to lose more votes to the Greens, who polled 5.4 per cent in 1983 and 14.5 per cent last January.

The Social Democrats may then have to share power with the Free Democrats (or the Greens).

Volker Skierka

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 6 August 1987)

■ HOME AFFAIRS

Local governments fear income-tax reform will cause them problems

The German local government conference says Bonn's planned reform of the income-tax system will present many local governments with almost insoluble problems. The *Länder* are just as anxious. Even financially-strong states will have troubles.

The total tax relief up to 1990 in what is the most extensive tax shake-up ever, involves about 44 billion marks.

Taxpayers will get back 25 billion marks in "real" relief. Of this, 5 billion marks will be brought forward to 1988. This, together with tax relief already decided upon, brings the total of tax relief for 1988 to almost 14 billion.

In 1990 "real" tax relief will be 20 billion. To this can be added 19 billion that will be compensated for by restructuring and adjusting, primarily by cutting subsidies.

Even if Chancellor Kohl's government does realy manage to cut subsidies, the question still remains: how is the real tax relief of 20 billion marks to be achieved?

Funds will be available from savings in the public sector. But it is a pity that hope and reality are worlds apart.

The fiscal planning council includes the Bonn Finance Ministry, the states' Finance Ministries, representatives from local government bodies and the Bundesbank, the central bank.

Years ago, the council set up guide-

RHEINISCHER MERKUR

lines for public expenditure which laid down that growth should be not more than 3 per cent a year — the aim being to hold it below the increase in gross national product. Only in this way could public finances be put back on their feet.

If tax relief is included in this redevelopment process, the expenditure ceiling should be reduced, one would have thought. But there has been no mention of it.

On the contrary, states and local government bodies are spending money hand-over-fist. This arrangement prevailed even after Chancellor Kohl formed his government in 1983.

But since 1985 this self-imposed expenditure ceiling has been exceeded year after year. The Finance Minister in Bonn has, in fact, kept to the three-per-cent ceiling, but it has been relatively easy for him to do so.

When Finance Minister Gerhard Stoltenberg can lighten a burden he does so. The most recent example of this was the Cabinet's decision to increase unemployment benefit insurance which in a clandestine manner relieved the strain on the national budget to the tune of a billion marks per year.

This way of easing finances is not open to the states and local governments.

Then there is another factor that can be taken into consideration. Central government has a relatively limited labour force. Increases in personnel salaries do no hurt anywhere near as hard as they do in the states and local government bodies.

How far have the politicians involved in financial affairs strayed from the path of virtue? In 1983 expenditure by central, regional and local authorities increased by 1.4 per cent and in the following year by 2.4 per cent. In 1985 the increase was 3.3 per cent. Last year it was 4.5 per cent.

This means that last year the guidelines provided by the fiscal planning council were exceeded by 1.5 per cent.

It does not look as if the situation will be any better in the future. In the first quarter of this year public spending was five per cent higher than it was in the same period last year.

The increased tempo of public spending cannot be explained by extraordinary items. It is a dangerous trend.

The feeling of apprehension that state finance ministers and city treasurers have when they consider the reforms of the 1990s is understandable. But without reform they will slip into ever more [illegible]

There is little that can be done in the short-term about recurrent expenditure such as for personnel, social benefits and servicing debt.

On the other hand tax receipts are not increasing at the rate that was previously hoped for but a short time ago.

Latest estimates in May this year suggested that tax receipts for the states between 1987 to 1990 will be a good DM19bn below the figure estimated in May 1986. The May estimate shows that tax receipts for local government bodies will be down almost DM14bn on the figure calculated last year — together DM33bn.

This tax shortfall does not include tax reflief planned for 1990.

No inflation

There are reasons for this restrained tax growth. The tax relief package 1986/1988 is having its effect, if not fully. Also finance politicians in central government, the states and local government bodies must lower their estimates of economic growth.

Finally there is still no inflation. If prices are stable then receipts from value-added taxes do not increase very much.

Stable times also dampen down the wage updrive. Workers and salaried employees do not climb up the tax scale quite so swiftly. This means that clandestine tax increases are lost to the treasury.

It is just this that has not been taken into consideration by the finance politicians. On the whole as clandestine tax increases fail to appear then citizens enjoy real and fairly considerable tax relief.

Periods of price stability, looked at in this way, are constantly accompanied by "clandestine" tax reform.

This has played no part in considerations of the 1990 reforms.

Now that "clandestine" and "genuine" tax reforms are reconciled to each other the extent of total tax relief is high.

Thus the states and local government bodies, with their relatively rigid recurrent expensès, get into trouble.

This also explains why such a finance-minded prime minister as Lothar Späth of Baden-Württemberg wonders whether proposed tax reforms should not be applied in two stages.

No-one is prepared to say how high the burden will be for the states and local government bodies. No-one knows what will come of the tax shake-up tha is now contemplated now that the season of state elections has come to an end.

Until the situation is clarified local government bodies are assuming that they will fall into debt to the tune of DM9bn in 1990. That is four times more than last year.

If this standard for the tendency to debt is absolute then the indebtedness of central government, the states and local government bodies would not even be the level Späth fears for 1990 of about DM100bn.

As Bonn has not linked tariff adjustment to its financing the bewilderment is considerable among states and local government bodies, with justification, because the states have yet to balance their books.

Here it is a matter of evening out, at least to some extent, the differing financial strengths of the states and the local government bodies that stand behind them.

The Constitutional Court has announced that part of the balancing of accounts practised today is illegal. A draft bill drawn up by the government for reform has not been greeted with much enthusiasm by the states.

Birgit Breuel, Finance Minister in Lower Saxony, stated in the July issue of *Wirtschaftsdienst*, that fiscal adjustment, the apportionment of revenue between central government, the states and local government bodies, and tax reform are closely linked to one another and that this does not diminish the concern felt by state finance ministers.

Birgit Breuel welcomed intended tax reforms, but she left no doubt that the financially-weak states could in no way bear the brunt of revenue shortfalls.

She said: "The financial strengths in our federal state are too uneven, so that a tax reduction, distributed evenly over all the states, would not be possible."

Financially-weak states or states weakened by the introduction of Bonn's reform, brought in without due consideration of its effect on planned tax reforms, are bound to be faced with unsolvable difficulties.

This would be risking "a financial emergency stop without an automatic braking system."

What to do? So as to avoid coming to financial disaster, the cumulative effects of fiscal adjustment and tax reform must begin gradually.

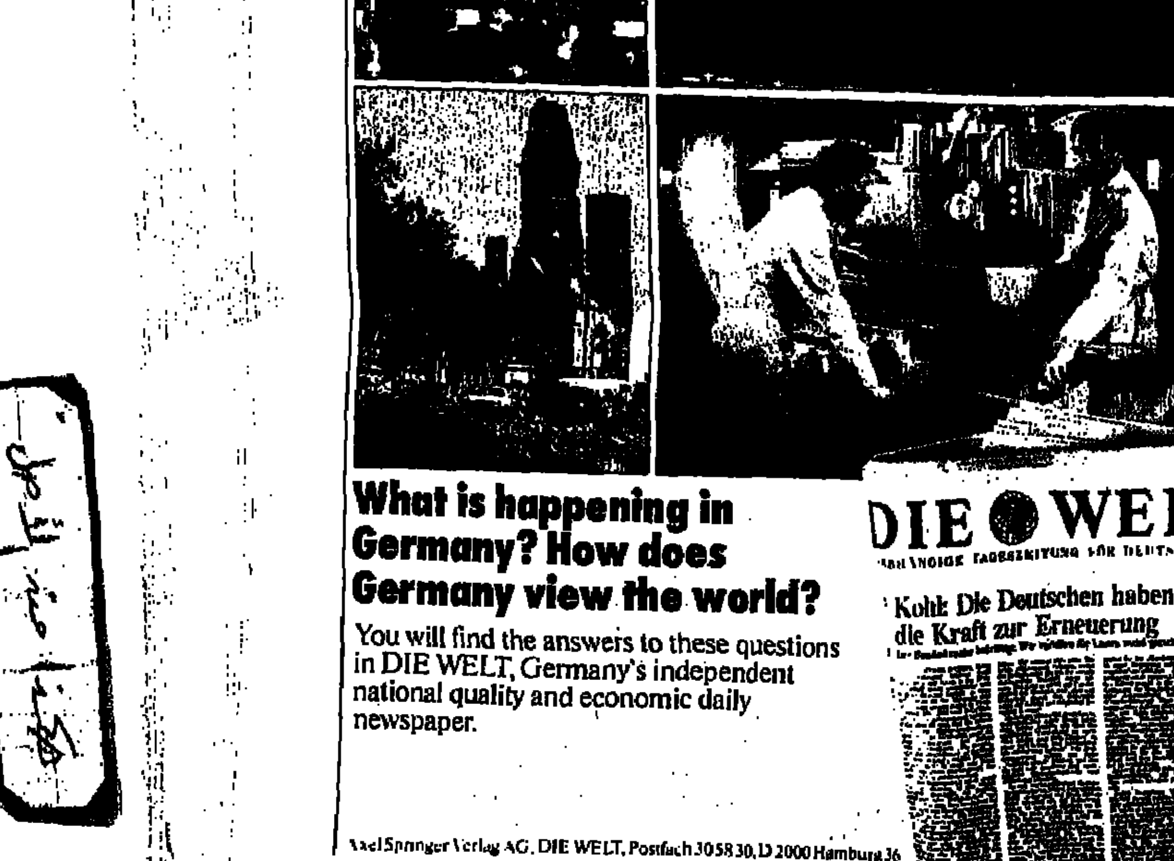
In more concrete terms central government must give the states affected bridging assistance.

Considering the burden federal legislation imposes, particularly on financially-weak states and local government bodies, it should be all the more easy to reach this decision.

Paul Bellinghausen

(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, Bonn, 31 July 1987)







Chocks away, soon. Full-size mock-up of the British-German-Italian Eurofighter. (Photo: MBB)

■ PERSPECTIVE

Two new European fighter aircraft in a marketplace big enough for one

The French are sticking with their aircraft. The British, Germans and Italians are sticking with theirs.

It is likely that, by the early 1990s, there will be two state-of-the-art European combat aircraft — the French Rafale and the Eurofighter of the British-German-Italian EAP (Experimental Aircraft Programme).

Once the respective air forces have ordered their aircraft, the marketing battle will begin. On the world market, there will be only room for one of them. Prototypes of both impressed military observers with aerobatic and vertical take-off displays at the Paris air show in June.

But they were no more than prototypes designed only to show the aerodynamic wonders of new technology.

Whether a combination of the two will ever become *the* European fighter aircraft of the 1990s is another matter. The betting at the moment is against it. It will be well over five years before we know for certain.

Both sides — France on the one hand; and the triple entente of Britain, Germany and Italy that designed and built the Tornado — have years of development work behind them. Neither has any intention of losing its technological advantages.

So by the early 1990s there will almost certainly be two up-to-the-minute new European fighter aircraft.

Yet, once the local European orders have been filled, the costliest European arms programme of the next decade will erupt in a battle for world markets.

German members of the EFA (short for European Fighter Aircraft) consortium are convinced of the technical superiority of their contribution toward the Eurofighter.

Other members of the consortium are manufacturers in Britain, Italy and Spain.

Bonn may have withdrawn, on financial grounds, from participation in EAP prototype development, but Messerschmitt-Bölkow-Blohm (MBB) in Ottobrunn, near Munich, are proud of having contributed toward both the design and the prototype.

When Germany pulled out of this part of the project the British had no hesitation in accepting the ideas that had been put forward by MBB engineers.

The German, British, Italian and Spanish air forces have stipulated exacting demands the Eurofighter must fulfill if it is to meet their requirements.

The design engineers have had to

Süddeutsche Zeitung

crack many a tough nut. To ensure air supremacy, for instance, the fighter must be able to climb better and to be more mobile and have a narrower turning circle than any other plane.

The fighter must be able to attack enemy targets both at close range, in dogfights, and at a longer distance and out of sight.

These and other requirements are essential, chiefs of air staff say, to meet the threat posed by improved East Bloc combat aircraft that are expected to be taken into service in the 1990s.

Aircraft designers may be excused for feeling the three key design specifications amount to squaring the circle.

The Eurofighter must have an unladen weight of no more than 9.75 tonnes (without fuel or weapons). The surface area of its wings must be 50 square metres and its thrust must be 90 kilonewtons.

The wing specification in particular is considered to be crucially important as ensuring ideal uplift, "good-natured" handling and the lowest possible aerodynamic resistance.

The technical highlights of the design concept include fly-by-wire controls, making instable aerodynamics possible, with pilots no longer needing to constantly reset their controls.

The fore- or duck's wings are claimed to improve mobility substantially. They will be made of lightweight non-metallic materials such as carbon fibre, glass fibre-reinforced plastic and aluminium-lithium alloys.

In a nutshell, the aim is to ensure a high thrust-weight ratio and a low wing strain, thereby making the plane more manoeuvrable than has yet been considered possible.

In 40 years of relative peace in Europe views on the shape hostilities might take have changed. This is reflected in military specifications for the new fighter.

Planners in uniform were long convinced that the outcome of a war in Europe would be decided in a matter of days. So aircraft were designed and built to deliver peak performance for a limited period, so guaranteeing maximum destructive potential.

There was talk of a "disposable" aircraft. But times have now changed. Combat aircraft are expected to retain their combat and deterrent potential for longer periods.

The Eurofighter is designed for a lifespan of 25 years, for instance. The supporting structures of the aircraft shell are designed to withstand 6,000 flight hours without showing signs of fatigue.

Key features such as avionic, electrical and hydraulic systems must be laid on in belt-and-braces manner, with replacement systems at the ready to ensure that the entire, expensive aircraft need not unnecessarily be abandoned.

The complicated technology this requires will inevitably entail a risk of overtaxing the pilot. So maximum automation is to be incorporated to ease the burden.

Head-up display and direct voice input make the pilot's work easier too. He needs only to say the word "flaps" or "shoot" and the microphone will "action" his instructions.

Hotas, short for hands on throttle and stick, is another system designed to make it easier for the pilot to handle the controls.

He no longer needs to push dashboard buttons, toggles and levers. All key controls can be operated from either the joystick on his right or the throttle on his left.

Flaps or undercarriage can be operated by pushing a button. Radio contact with other aircraft or ground control can be established by pushing a button. Radar can be checked for target alignment in the same way.

Superiority over aggressors should be ensured by a new radar system known as track while scan and consisting of a powerful computer that can indicate several targets on the monitor screen while tracking for others at the same time.

It establishes target priority without delay, arriving at priority assessments on the basis of distance, size and speed.

As an arms carrier the Eurofighter will be fitted out with up to 12 missiles, depending on its combat role (air-to-air or air-to-ground).

They will be either American Sidewinder, ASRAAM and AMRAAM missiles for short- and medium-range use or the Italian Aspide.

Two extra fuel tanks, arranged in piggyback fashion, are envisaged to enable the aircraft to stay airborne for as long as possible.

The leading aerospace manufacturers in the four countries associated with the project have set up the Eurofighter Jagdflugzeug GmbH in Munich to supervise the project.

They are MBB and Dornier in Germany, British Aerospace, Aeritalia and CASA of Spain.

Their four air forces estimate combined requirements to total roughly 800 fighter aircraft, to be manufactured proportionately by the companies in question.

A final assembly line is to be set up in all four countries to ensure technological equality. The Eurofighter will be manufactured in Munich and Augsburg, in Warton, near Blackpool, in Turin and in Madrid.

The Eurofighter GmbH in Munich will be responsible for the aircraft shell and weapon systems, while Eurojet Turbo GmbH, also Munich-based, will be in charge of engine development.

Partners in the engine venture are MTU of Munich, Rolls Royce of Derby, Fiat Aviazione of Turin and Sener of Madrid.

[illegible] sponsibility for the EJ 200 engine, a design for which has been drawn up and submitted.

To ensure thrust and acceleration performance turbine rotor blades will be made of monocrystals and discs of pulverised metals.

Specially modified booster jets and digitalised engine controls (keeping a constant check on performance and warning of overheating) should ensure technical excellence, engine designers say.

High tech will enhance reliability and reduce maintenance costs.

France emphasised at the Paris air show that it is determined to go ahead with the DM60bn Rafale project and equip its air force with at least 330 of these new fighters.

They will replace first the ageing Etendards, Super-Etendards, Crusaders and Jaguars and later phase out the Mirage too.

So Europe seems sure to remain divided for decades where combat aircraft are concerned.

Rudolf Metzler

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 1 August 1987)

Bonn, Paris

Continued from page 1

in Germany. So if France must play a part in Germany's forward defence, it would mean Paris boosting the conventional potential it has neglected in favour of the *force de frappe*.

But it lacks both the political resolution and the hard cash.

Paris has decided to believe in the nuclear deterrent. Bonn is persuaded that nuclear weapons alone do not deter; they must be accompanied by a credible defence preparedness. And that can only be demonstrated by conventional units.

There needs to be a public debate inboth countries, but it seems both governments prefer political gestures.

These gestures may be important in a media age, but if they take the place of politics the result can only be stagnation.

The descendants of Adenauer and de Gaulle must show the courage of their convictions and say what they want.

Wolfgang Schmieg

(Nürnberger Nachrichten, 7 August 1987)

■ TRADE

Unctad talks produce some dull reading and one or two other things as well

Unctad VII has ended its meeting in Geneva. A 50-page document was issued to show what happened. It is not compulsive reading.

It is hard to explain to outsiders what the aims and advantages of the Geneva UN Conference on Trade and Development are.

In spite of this, many people at Geneva claim that the meeting, which got more appalling the longer it went, was worth the time and expense.

Keynotes have been realigned or redefined and guidelines for progress been extended.

The tenor of North-South ties has markedly improved. It has grown more objective, more realistic and aimed more at cooperation than at confrontation.

Mutual accusations and recriminations, of colonial exploitation or being a bottomless pit of pointless expenditure, have been replaced by an effort to bear interdependence and joint responsibility more in mind.

So Unctad VII may be seen as having marked the beginning of a reappraisal of the entire range of development policy problems.

There may well have been no need for the demonstrative behaviour of the United States and the reminders given by other Western industrialised countries that they, as the Third World's major trading partners and aid donors, were no longer willing to put up with inordinate demands and accusations of providing too little development aid.

Frankfurter Allgemeine

There are also those who admit that *Western governments and industrial interests are partly to blame for the inefficiency* and setbacks of development policy and for the massive debts run up by a number of developing countries.

Western aid, they concede, has been used to buy political influence and in bids to safeguard export markets and commodity supplies.

The Geneva conference has ended with a realisation that development policy can only succeed if its further funding is combined with solutions to debt problems and takes into account the economic, structural, trade and commodity policies pursued by individual countries.

Growth-oriented structural adjustment was an Unctad VII keyword, with all concerned agreeing that a long-term debt strategy is an essential prerequisite for success.

It must be a strategy geared to the requirements and opportunities of those concerned and pave the way for both a replenishment of funds from external sources and a greater mobilisation of domestic resources. The Third World countries are agreed, to a greater extent than used to be the case, to be responsible themselves, especially for economic policies creating a climate favourable to free enterprise and initiative.

An economic climate of this kind would tend to stem the tide of capital outflow and encourage stronger commitment by domestic and foreign investors.

One of the most striking features of the conference was the breakthrough of free market principles in the Third World to which it bore testimony.

Signs of market orientation were even apparent in a number of statements made by East Bloc delegates, who were remarkably unpolemical in comparison with their behaviour at previous Unctad conferences, showing first signs of readiness to take on development policy commitments of their own.

Structural adjustment and greater orientation toward market forces are emerging as keywords in commodity policy too.

With the seemingly spectacular Soviet accession to the joint commodity fund there is, at least in theory, a possibility of implementing the integrated commodity policy adopted at Nairobi in 1976.

Changing patterns of supply and demand have since shown, however, that an approach based on economic [illegible] and on stabilising commodity export earnings heedless of market forces is doomed to failure.

That is why more importance is now attached to structural improvements and to economic diversification by countries that depend mainly on commodity earnings, particularly by means of funds at the commodity fund's disposal.

The industrialised countries are similarly expected to improve their performance on structural adjustment. They can only expect development aid to stop being a bottomless pit if they are serious in promising, as they so often have, to renounce protectionism.

They must show once and for all that they mean business on abjuring protectionism and on throwing their markets wider open to goods exported by the developing countries.

In the long term that would open up extra markets for their own export industries.

In reaffirming the aims of the Gatt Uruguay Round, which include reform of the system of world trade, the industrialised countries might succeed in persuading the Third World to refrain from further argument over the delimitation of powers between Unctad and other international organisations such as Gatt, the World Bank and the IMF.

The Third World countries might then accept these other organisations as being responsible for negotiating specific agreements and implementing specific moves.

They have been forced to acknowledge that their idea of Unctad as an overriding international economic organisation with universal powers is impracticable as matters now stand.

Yet Unctad and its secretariat are said by some to have gained greater weight in the course of the Geneva conference, as the venue of a meaningful North-South dialogue from which the work of other organisations stands to benefit.

So the conference ended on a note of reasonable satisfaction and [illegible] Political practice will show whether the goodwill and agreement on cooperation in working to achieve the objective outlined in the final conference document will stand the test of time.

Wolfgang van den Wrenbergh

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 1 August 1987)



Germany 'should import more farm products from Third World'

German markets should be thrown open wider to Third World exports, says Economic Cooperation Minister Hans Klein.

He said in his 1986 development policy report that all sectors should be opened up, especially agriculture. Aid by trade was better than grants or other support measures.

"Countries that can't sell us anything can't buy anything from us either," he said.

He hinted that, unlike his predecessor, Jürgen Warnke, he does not favour insisting on German development aid being spent on German goods. What counted was the recipient country's requirements.

Herr Klein said an intensive information campaign was needed to iron out differences of opinion on development policy.

These differences were exaggerated but aid to the poorest of the poor was not simply a matter of solidarity or of loving one's neighbour. It also made sound development policy sense.

The swift economic and social progress by African, Asian and Latin American countries was in Germany's self-interest as an export-orientated industrialised country.

He mentioned the dramatic decline in commodity prices and the importance of industrial commodities. More agricultural produce must be imported.

The developing countries themselves must do more to use indigenous structure and use social behaviour patterns in development projects.

All development projects reviewed by the Bonn Economic Cooperation Ministry were checked for their effect on the environment.

Several projects were aimed at environmental restoration. Trees were being planted to offset the havoc caused by wholesale destruction of tropical rain forests, for example.

German public-sector development totalled DM8.3bn in 1986, or 0.43 per cent of GNP — well ahead of Western industrialised countries' average of 0.36 per cent.

Net spending on bilateral and multilateral aid were slightly down.

German aid continued to be based on rural development, on which DM1.6bn was invested.

Another DM1.5bn was spent on basic-requirement projects and DM800m on energy-related projects.

Africa and Asia each accounted for 41 per cent of German financial or technical assistance. Latin America got a little over 11 per cent.

The poorest developing countries were given DM900m in non-repayable grants.

Arnulf Gosch

(Die Welt, Bonn, 1 August 1987)

■ RETAILING

Unknown, high-flying newcomer elbows the heavyweights out of the way

Helmut Wagner heads the biggest retail organisation in West Germany: Asko Deutsche Kaufhaus AG has an annual turnover of more than 13 billion marks.

This operator of hypermarkets and specialist outlets on out-of-town sites has left the traditional city-centre department store chains like Kaufhof, Hertie and Horten a long way behind.

Yet, the name of Asko is hardly known apart from the people who actually shop there. Worse, the name doesn't mean much to banks and investors either.

So Wagner, who has obvious showbiz talents, has gone on the offensive with a publicity campaign: major newspapers have been featuring advertisements proclaiming loudly the Number One position of the group.

The firm keeps on getting bigger. Wagner has bought 24.9 per cent of the equity of his major competitor, Massa, which increased turnover from more than 10 billion to more than 13 billion marks — and shot it past the largest department store group, Karstadt AG.

Wagner says there is still work to do to make the Asko name a family one. So far, it is still confused with a Finnish furniture manufacturer of the same name which has now pulled out of Germany.

But Asko's relative obscurity does not detract from the success of the business.

Most of the success story has been written by Helmut Wagner who, with his colleague Günter Mössner, has headed Asko since the beginning of the 1970s.

Wagner is equally a convinced capitalist and a Social Democrat. He said that he had followed Oskar Lafontaine, the left-wing Saar Premier, and the East German leader, Erich Honecker, "with delight".

In 1960, as an "SPD official," he was appointed to the board of the Allgemeine Saar Konsum Organisation.

He now says that no decisions get made making appoints like that but "they were lucky with the laymen they had."

At the time Asko was a sleepy consumers' cooperative, which began life in 1880 as the Eisenbahn-Consum-Verein. It had more than 330 grocery shops in the southwest of the Federal Republic.

Asko's rise began at the beginning of the 1970s. Wagner, a former Young Socialist, chairman of the Sozialistischer Deutscher Studentenbund at Mainz University and a trades union official,

DIE ZEIT

made a complete break with Asko's past. He turned his back on the Association of German Consumer Cooperatives in Hamburg, that was in the process of collecting regional consumer cooperatives into a co-op centre.

Instead of that he dressed up his Asko afresh. He turned it into an Aktiengesellschaft, a company with limited liability and quoted shares. The operation started with a turnover of DM200m and a built-in small loss for the future. Wagner investigated the situation and found that the organisation's future lay in the outskirts of towns and cities.

In 1971 he founded his first self-service department store, a new form of retail outlet, which sold, apart from food stuffs and groceries, a wide range of hardware, clothing, household goods, cosmetics, house cleaning items and much other merchandise in daily use. The prices were rock-bottom.

Wagner's *Basare* were a great success with the public. In the first year of operations turnover increased 36 per cent.

From the beginning Wagner's aim was to rid himself of unprofitable shops. Gradually he got rid of shops that had become too small. In the mid-1970s, he finally parted with supermarkets — and in doing so, reduced turnover by DM800m.

But the out-of-town successes compensated. By the end of 1976 even sales at the self-service outlets made up a half of the annual turnover of almost one billion marks.

Wagner's immense success in his out-of-town operations gave the city-centre shops, particularly the department stores, no peace. For apart from Asko, other companies such as Massa, Allkauf, Schaper, Leibbrand and the Veba subsidiary Deutsche SB-Kauf, had also moved to the outskirts.

Then in 1977 the government slammed the door. Curbs were put on discount stores on the outskirts of cities and towns. No shopping centres covering an area more than 1,500 square metres were given approval to operate. A self-service hypermarket needed as much as 10,000 square metres on the outskirts. Wagner said: "In doing this the government created a monopoly for us."

Wagner now had to rein back his attempts at becoming a national self-service hypermarket chain on the outskirts by expanding into the north of the Federal Republic.

There were already four Apollo hypermarkets in Lower Saxony, but approval for more was withheld. The four alone in the north of the country were not economically viable. Wagner sold them to the Schaper Group in Hanover.

The government's action opened the way for Asko to expand elsewhere.

Wagner made his company the undisputed Number One in retail business on the outskirts of cities and towns, by establishing new outlets but mainly by spectacular take-overs of other companies.

In 1979 he entered into the building materials business. His 90 *Praktiker* building materials and handyman supermarkets he named as the "Aldi" (a chain of low-priced grocery stores) of the German building materials market. These outlets offered handymen, tradesmen and moonlighters building materials at discount prices.

In 1981 he made his second foray into new business when he bought into the discount clothing chain Adler of Haibach. This was a lucky move for Asko, for it brought to the cheap outlets not only massive growth but also profits for the constantly capital-starved trading group.

Clothing and fabrics were produced in Bavaria, Sri Lanka and South Korea. Wagner said with satisfaction: "Till now no-one has been able to copy Adler."

That year the Monopolies Commission cast its attention on Wagner's activities in the Saar. He then created a mild sensation in the trading sector. He cut through the last threads binding him to the Co-op Group. He was mainly involved with this cooperative for the purchase of goods. He now linked up with the cooperative Rewe-Zentrale AG. He obtained 50 per cent of the equity in this operation.

The other 50 per cent of the Rewe capital was held by the expansion-minded retail group Leibbrand. Together Wagner and Leibbrand formed a very strong trading group. For the Monopolies Commission a huge, but perfectly within the law, operation.

But Wagner was far from being at the end of the line. Instead of trying to expand the growth of the self-service outlets, in 1985 he took over Deutsche SB-Kauf, a retailing subsidiary of the Veba Group. Deutsche SB-Kauf has 23 self-service outlets and eight Agros cash-and-carry hypermarkets.



I'm the Number One now, says Helmut Wagner. (Photo: stern)

With this move Wagner more than doubled the Asko 1984 turnover of almost DM1.7bn.

To make this operation acceptable to the Monopolies Commission Wagner gave up his holding in Rewe. The Monopolies Commission gave him the nod of approval.

But his great moment was yet to come. Last year he bought into his Hanover-based competitor Schaper, that last year had a turnover of DM3.7bn. With this acquisition he was able to penetrate the north as well as the west of the country.

In this deal Wagner acquired 42 building materials retail outlets, 27 furniture and interior decoration operations and a dozen or so wholesale shops.

Triumphantly he said: "Asko has moved up the class ladder."

Since the beinning of this year Wagner has had at his disposal more than 75 per cent of the Schaper capital and he has an option on the rest.

But here he wants to be in tune with the Monopolies Commission. The Commission sees in Wagner's new massive empire an opposing force to powerful trading groups from Aldi to Metro.

Harald Lübbert, a department head in the Monopolies Commission in Ber-

Continued on page 8





■ INDUSTRY

Plan to let small firms hire services, disused space

One of Germany's biggest engineering groups is planning to let disused premises plus equipment, services and infra-structure to smaller firms. Mannesmann has been steadily slimming its operations and hopes that leasing both knowhow and facilities will allow it to at least break even on disused premises. It plans to hire out port facilities on the Rhine, the works railway network, company medical service and fire brigade, laboratory facilities, planning units, research-and-development resources and data processing facilities. Here, Kay Bandermann looks at the group's plan for *Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt*.

The calendar on the bare wall is for August 1979. The room is empty, the PVC flooring clean. Apart from a broken window, the disused offices look ready for use.

The building next door, once a canteen, is also disused — and looks it. Ferns and wild plants (formerly known as weeds) festoon the doorway and reach to the windows.

Hall 3a, a few yards further on, has a side door that opens when manhandled, exposing to view a hole in the floor and the 30-year-old concrete foundations of the redbrick building.

Steel piping and waste metal still litter the factory floor but Mannesmann, the tube manufacturers, would like to see life return to the 35,000 square metres, or nearly nine acres, of industrial wasteland.

The Sleeping Beauty of a crane, 12 metres (40ft) above the ground, could then go back to work moving loads of up to 80 tonnes.

Mannesmann plan a new approach to location of industry, and what the engineering group has in mind here in Duisburg has already been highly praised.

Three factory workshops with a combined floor space of over 100,000 square metres, or 1.2 million square feet, and a further 75,000 square metres of uncovered space currently used as farmland are on offer.

Mannesmann are prepared to rent or sell, leasehold or freehold, the entire site, wholly or in part, to other firms.

Newly-established firms are just as welcome to set up shop as larger companies with plans to expand.

The factory may not have been in use for five years or more but all halls still have working crane facilities and electric power, compressed air and water points.

Much the same can be said of many an industrial wasteland in the Ruhr. The Huckingen, Duisburg, site is one of many.

Where it differs from the others is that Mannesmann are prepared to offer newcomers their entire infrastructure and technical know-how — for a price. Cost-sharing, they call it.

Newcomers will be able to use the Mannesmann inland port facilities on the Rhine, the works railway network, medical service, fire brigade and canteen.

Laboratory facilities, planning units, research and development, data processing — all are on offer, at a price.

For small firms in particular, says a Mannesmann director, the advantages of access to such comprehensive services cannot be rated highly enough.

"They have no need to invest heavily in site development and factory construction," he says. "Or take transport, for instance. "If a small firm wants to ship heavy goods it will take them at least a day to get a police permit. For us that is just a minor detail."

He nods in the direction of the extensive works railway network, which has direct access to the Bundesbahn and national and international rail services.

Pressure of costs has forced Mannesmann to embark on this new entrepreneurial venture. Like all large Ruhr coal and steel companies, Mannesmann are under pressure to adjust.

In Mannesmann's case the payroll will be cut back from 20,000 to 15,500 by the end of next year. The management has revised production targets too.

Output has now been set at 2.4 million tonnes of raw steel and two million tonnes of steel tubing a year. In 1985 the production figures were 3.5 million and 2.65 million tonnes respectively.

Mannesmann workers in this part of Duisburg have not yet been affected, but it is their turn next.

In the early 1970s the company gave up manufacturing rolled steel in Huckingen, concentrating instead on producing the raw material for steel tubing.

The next wave of modernisation, which occurred in the early 1980s, saw a retrenchment of activities to a handful of highly efficient facilities, especially two continuous casting plants for seamless steel tubes.

Mannesmann have invested DM1bn in this modernisation programme over the past eight years. Industrial facilities no longer required are now on offer to all comers.

They are expected to yield rental income and the proceeds of straight sales, although one spokesman for the company is doubtful whether the operation will net a profit.

"We have very little hope of earnings being higher than the cost of refurbishing factory and office space," he says.

The extra revenue from contract work for Mannesmann workshops and laboratories is not expected to amount to more than three to five per cent.

"There is a great deal of goodwill about the whole operation, you know," he says. Goodwill for Duisburg, a city hard-hit by the structural crisis that besets the entire Ruhr.

Small wonder the local authority is more than willing to lend any assistance it can. Duisburg has long suffered from the specific problem that it no longer owns a single square metre of industrial development land.

"That," says Helmut Stegemann, deputy head of the municipal development agency, "is a late consequence of the long-term land holding policies of the city's leading industrial companies."

Mannesmann, Thyssen and Krupp, the "Big Three," own up to 70 per cent of the industrial acreage. The city has urged them since the late 1970s to part company with land that has been abandoned and works that have been shut down.

"They didn't begin to oblige until the 1980s steel crisis and public pressure was brought to bear on them," Stegemann says.

The city has ample land zoned as commercial acreage, but industrial acreage in sufficient quantity is essential if industrial development is to help create new jobs.

Provisions of the Static Emission Act require more than a mere stroke of the pen to reclassify commercial as industrial land.

Lord Mayor Josef Krings feels Mannesmann's move may have a signal effect on other companies. The industrial development agency confirms that talks are being held with the boards of Thyssen and Krupp.

Reimut Jochimsen, Economic Affairs Minister of North Rhine-Westphalia, calls the Duisburg experiment an "encouraging and progressive step."

He clearly has more in mind than just Duisburg and has offered new companies a 15-per-cent investment grant as part of the *Land* government's programme to help depressed steel areas.

Little over a week after the first announcement in Duisburg the response was said to be "extraordinarily positive" and even "phenomenal."

There have been over 30 enquiries and works tours have been arranged, with interest being shown by firms in a wide range of industries.

A precision engineering firm has shown interest in expanding. A printer likes the look of an old canteen. A funfair showman was keen to find somewhere to store his swings and roundabouts over Christmas.

Another inquiry was received from a heavy engineering firm. The most immediate response was local, but enquiries have also come in from further afield than North Rhine-Westphalia.

Mannesmann hope to sign the first contracts soon. Initial negotiations are already under way for the larger facilities that promise to be the more lucrative for the company.

Details cannot be finalised overnight, of course. "Before a company invests DM200m months go by as locations are analysed, plans are costed and the project is given the once-over at all management levels responsible for approving the investment outlay," says a Mannesmann director.

So it will be two years at the earliest before anyone can say for sure whether the Duisburg experiment has really been a success.

Kay Bandermann

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, Hamburg, 2 August 1987)

Continued from page 7

lin, said: "Without us Asko's star would never have risen."

The officials in Berlin are unable to prevent the Asko star from glowing even brighter.

For the time being Asko has only an unassailable 24.9 per cent participation in Massa. But there is nothing in the present law or the administration of justice to prevent a company taking over a majority.

But Wagner himself has denied that he is interested in taking over a majority holding.

He said: "I am just a simple businessman and not a monopolies expert. I must deal with that first."

Wagner is of the view that there is a lot he can do with his new acquisition.

The Kipp family that founded Massa have reduced their interest in the company to just five per cent.

Apart from 25 supermarkets he has access to specialised supermarkets including furnishings and electrical goods stores, a prefabricated house programme and certain production factories.

He can lease space for Adler in the Massa supermarkets, the building materials stores complement one another and he can put the prefabricated houses up for sale in his building materials shops.

For some time his sausage and meat shops have been operating up to capacity. Once more a piece of luck for Wagner.

Günhild Freese

(Die Zeit, Hamburg, 31 July 1987)

Pipeline makers blame losses on dumping

DIE WELT

Seamless steel pipe manufacturers in West Germany, France, Britain and Italy have mounted a massive anti-subsidy complaint to the EC Commission in Brussels, via their umbrella organisation in Paris, against the state-owned Austrian steel group Voest-Alpine AG.

They are up to their ears in trouble anyway and claim that their considerable losses are due to the Austrians.

The Voest group has only been kept alive by state subsidies. The production of the pipe plant in Styria was designed originally only for the Russian market but it is now being marketed in the European Community at prices 25 per cent below EC prices, particularly in the "liberal" West German market.

By complaining they hope to make it difficult for the Austrians or get an increase in customs duties applied.

They are looking for signs that there will be fairer competition in the future with other state subsidised and state-owned steel concerns.

The West German steel pipe association in Düsseldorf describes this as "an act of despair."

In 1986 the Austrian steel concern made a loss of DM318 for every tone of steel produced. These losses ran into billions that had to be covered by the state.

This year the losses will be less which means that a subsidy of DM467 per ton must be given.

More than a half of this dumping-priced steel from Styria finds its way to the West German market.

German steel manufacturers (Mannesmann, Benteler and Maxhütte) regard it as just a little ironic that Voerst has made great play of being the company out to rescue Maxhütte from bankruptcy.

It is the Voerst-Alpine dumping prices for pipes that has basically driven Maxhütte into bankruptcy proceedings.

West German seamless steel pipe production was dropped a fifth last year to 1.8 million tons. Only 60 per cent of their capacities were used, as is the case this year.

Since 1981 producers have cut their annual production by 260,000 tons and reduced the labourforce by a fifth to 30,000.

Poor demand has made it necessary to make further adjustments to the labour force involving up to 4,000.

Having to find redundancy payments for these employees has brought the steelworks to their knees.

German steel manufacturers have one sensitive disadvantage. They are dependent on their own primary produced steel. They do not enjoy protection as it is guaranteed in the steel crisis measures introduced by the EC Commission through cutbacks in production, market sharing and protection from imports from third countries.

The continuation of the avalanche of steel subsidies in other EC countries is already engulfing the pipes market.

The association has demanded the removal of these measures that distort competition, "or German producers of seamless steel pipes must be given equivalent subsidies."

J. Gehlhoff

(Die Welt, Bonn, 31 July 1987)

■ SPACE RESEARCH

Everyone's back on their launching pads

Space research seems to have regained its momentum in the West — both in America and Europe.

Nasa has begun trials of the space shuttle, Discovery, which is due for its next lift-off next summer.

Nasa has also placed with Rockwell International, the US aerospace group, the long-controversial contract to build a fifth space shuttle to replace Challenger, which exploded on take-off in January 1986.

Europe also appears to be on the march again now that the trouble with Ariane's ignition has been identified and eliminated. The next satellite launch by Ariane carrier rocket is now scheduled for September, after a delay of over a year.

Bonn Research Minister Heinz Riesenhuber has named five German astronauts who will stand for Bonn's commitment to manned space research.

But only two of the five (three men and two women) stand a chance of being sent up into space in a low terrestrial orbit.

When the Americans invited first one, then two German payload specialists to take part in US space missions on board Spacelab, which was designed and built mainly in Germany, the potential astronauts were selected, specially trained and sent over to Nasa.

This time, in a bout of over-enthusiasm, no fewer than five potential astronauts have been selected and are to be trained at great expense.

It could end up being a frustrating experience for them. By the mid-1990s they will probably be simply too old to be sent up into space.

Yet in Bonn, at any rate, space research seems to have been rediscovered now that Foreign Minister Genscher, under pressure from France, has taken to untiringly stressing the benefits of high tech.

He sees it as essential if Germany, as an industrialised country, is to play a part in the space race or the white heat of technological progress.

In reality German industry tends to be reluctant to go in for space experiments as a means of developing and testing new materials, alloys or drugs. The reason is mainly cost.

European Research Ministers drew up plans in Rome in January 1985 for a joint venture in manned space research.

They have yet to agree on exact deadlines for the Ariane 5 launcher rocket, the Hermes space shuttle and the Columbus space station.

The technical risks have yet to be fully identified, so the financial problems that may arise are equally uncertain.

Technical changes that have proved necessary in all three cases have postponed completion of the preparatory or definition phase, accounting for DM255m in extra expenditure.

But as the delay postponed the deadlines by which funds were required, the actual budget estimates have not been exceeded.

The Ministry now expects to be presented by the end of September with assured technical and scientific data enabling the government and the Bundestag to agree on fundamental decisions for European space programmes.

The details are then to be agreed for all member-countries of Esa, the European Space Agency, at a meeting of the Council of Ministers on 9 and 10 November.

The sums so far mentioned, even tentatively, by Herr Riesenhuber have already come as a shock to MPs.

The German share of the bill was earlier estimated at about DM8bn, but the latest figure is DM18bn at 1986 prices.

The Greens are not alone in referring to cost estimates burgeoning in tropical splendour and to a bottomless pit that was likely to cost untold billions.

Herr Riesenhuber in contrast says the cost will amount to DM10bn by the turn of the century, including an extra national space research programme, which is a figure that can be financed.

He will hear nothing of allegations that he heads a Space Research Ministry that no longer has funds at its disposal to invest in anything other than space research.

Ministry officials expect further delays to occur, postponing the development of Ariane 5 and, even more markedly, of Hermes and Columbus.

At the latest estimate the Ariane launcher rocket for the Hermes space shuttle will not be ready until 1997,

Süddeutsche Zeitung

while Hermes will not be available until 2000 and Columbus not for a further decade.

On the quiet, Bonn officials expect the French to have bitten off more than they can chew and to be forced to curb their planned expenditure.

The striving for top-notch technology must not stop short at space research, but it must be geared to what is feasible and makes sense.

In America, as on this side of the Atlantic, there has been growing opposition to fresh talk of a manned mission to Mars.

Instead, it is argued, it would be preferable to develop and manufacture a new spacecraft that made orbital launching simpler, less expensive and, above all, safer.

Now the space shuttle designers have proved unable to abide by their commitment to cut the cost of getting one kilogram of payload spaceborne to less than $2,000, a single-stage launcher rocket is felt to be needed.

That is a challenge the Europeans could do worse than take up.

Rudolf Metzler

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 4 August 1987)



Three will be left out: Research Minister Heinz Riesenhuber (third from right) with (from left) potential astronauts Schlegel, Thiele, Brümmer, Walpot and Walter. (Photo: dpa)

Two women, three men to be trained as astronauts

Three men and two women have been chosen from 1,700 applicants to be shortlisted as astronauts in Germany's space research effort. All five are to be trained as astronauts for the D2 Spacelab mission, probably in 1991 — but only two will be used.

Renate Luise Brümmer is a 32-year-old researcher from St. Gallen, in Switzerland, who studied maths and physics.

Heike Walpot, at 27 years, the youngest, is a trainee anaesthetist who was an Olympic swimmer.

Gerhard Paul Julius Thiele, 33, has studied physics. He ran in last year's New York marathon.

Hans Wilhelm Schlegel, at 36, the oldest, studied experimental physics and is currently working for a manufacturer of physical measuring and testing equipment. He skis and surfs, runs cross country and plays basketball.

Ulrich Walter, 33, is a specialist in tunnel microscopy, which is a way of making atoms visible.

Frau Brümmer qualified as a senior school teacher. She is a lively, dark-haired woman with an unmistakable Bavarian accent who says she enjoyed working as a teacher, "but working as a clerk at the counter of a large bank during the semester holidays taught me a great deal too."

Nor would she would wanted to have missed out on 18 months working night shifts as a nurse in a children's hospital.

She has lived and worked for six years in the United States. She did physics research at Miami University before moving to Colorado University, where she now works.

In Boulder, Col., at the foot of the Rockies, she is concerned mainly with meteorological topics such as the mechanics of wind currents and numerical weather forecasting.

Frau Brümmer is a keen photographer ("I have even won prizes") and enjoys classical music as a relaxation from working at the VDU of her computer.

She started mountaineering two years ago. She lives with a fellow-physicist, Joe Maclellan, for whom she now hopes to find a job in Germany.

Frau Walpot was born in Düsseldorf. Her parents were both competitive athletes. She was an Olympic swimmer and now works as a trainee anaesthetist at an Aachen hospital.

Fans will remember her better by her maiden name, Heike John. She was a member of the German national squad from 1974 to 1981 and swam for her country at the Montreal Olympics in 1976.

In Montreal, she says, she may have felt much the same as an astronaut does in space.

Married since 1984 and the mother of a three-year-old daughter, she is also fond of classical music.

Respiratory insufficiency is her career speciality, with the emphasis on side-effects of modern intensive medical care or, to use her own words:

"You find any number of particles in patients that have no business being there."

Mechanical respiration for laboratory rabbits is as much part of her research work as the evaluation of microscopic photographs describing the form and function of undesirable particles.

Herr Thiele, of Aalen, in Baden-Württemberg, is the most individualist among the five.

A wiry 33-year-old who studied physics in Munich, he describes himself as a conservative. His first key experience was his time as an officer cadet on board the *Gorch Fock*, the Bundesmarine training ship, in the Mediterranean.

He also relates his experiences on watch duty as a naval officer on board a patrol boat based in Flensburg, as a shipwrecked sailor in Panama and several weeks spent on the Galapagos Islands.

It comes as no surprise to learn that his PhD thesis was on Trace Element Distribution in the Warm Water Sphere of the North-East Atlantic — very much in keeping with his maritime interests.

His second key experience, incidentally, was the birth of his daughter Insa, followed a year later by that of son Tjark.

That, he say, made him a convinced war resister in 1983. Since mid-1986 he has been at Princeton on a postgraduate scholarship.

"I am particularly interested in how our climate develops in the long term and in the role played by the ocean," he says.

His family is his main hobby, although he is still an active athlete; he ran in last year's New York City marathon, for instance.

He is a Beethoven fan with a soft spot for Sibelius; "we spent our honeymoon in Finland."

Herr Schlegel is one of a family of nine children. He studied experimental physics in Aachen, then signed on for two

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■ FILMS

The youngest generation of German directors discovers the present

A mad scientist builds a bomb from radioactive milk and vegetables — and destroys the world with it.

Two American soldiers on a survival-training exercise become separated from their comrades — and suddenly they find themselves confronted by a Russian soldier.

On Christmas Eve, four men in wheelchairs steal DM20,000 of donations from their home for the handicapped — and meet an angel.

These then, are three films from the New German Film movement. They are films that represent something of a change in tack because for some time, young German film-makers have tended to avoid anything present and topical, particularly the present in their own country.

Top German directors such as Volker Schlöndorff, Werner Herzog or Vadim Glowna, have looked to America or the South Seas for themes. Younger directors, still chasing fame and success, have turned to the German past.

Mathias Allary, 27, who made the Chernobyl collage *Keinerlei Besorgnis*, said: "Most people take a cautious line and make films about the past, because they are sure that they will get a film promotion grant or a contract from television."

It is a new development that film-makers are settling accounts with the Nazi period as a means of gaining access to the bulging feeding-bag of German film promotion.

Twenty-five years ago, when 26 young film-makers in Oberhausen brought into being the New German Film, Matthias Allary would have been run out of town for his contemptuous opinions.

He has now learned to say the right thing. He is one of the generation of film-makers around the year 1960 who set out shakily into the film medium.

Dealing with the German past obviously was easier for them. Their fathers were not old enough to have been able to think for themselves in the Third Reich.

They only learned about the horrors of Auschwitz and Dachau and the Nazi terror from history books. Their parents had experienced the war in an air-raid shelter or from the viewpoint of an anti-aircraft auxiliary.

While the younger generation in Woodstock were twanging away at their guitars they were learning set theory.

They only know about the Vietnam War through films such as *Platoon* or *Apocalypse Now*.

The film-directors on whom they model themselves on no longer come from France, directors such as Jean Luc Goddard or Louis Malle, but the younger generation of film-makers from the USA such as Hugh Hoffmann or Francis Ford Coppola.

Hugh Hoffmann, who grew up in Berlin, harvested mainly catcalls and boos for his *Dawning*. The harsh criticism was directed more to the style than to the content of the film.

Two American officers, cut off from the outside world, are being trained in survival techniques, but their unit seems to have forgotten all about them.

The two try to survive until suddenly they encounter a Russian. The situation escalates. One American dies. The other American and the Russian fraternise.

It is hard to understand why the tough men in Hugh Hoffmann's film world had to give up, masturbate under a sheet, cut up a dead rabbit with a knife and scurry through the dark pines in a dandified manner with a revolver.

Hoffmann said: "*I grew up in Berlin and was constantly confronted by the* East-West conflict. I made the film because of this, which is nothing more than the desire that people should understand each other more."

His story was triggered off by a worn-out American Army jeep that Hoffmann bought and that is constantly parked or being driven about in his film.

The influence of the American film world on West German film-making cannot be ignored. Roland Emmerich, who graduated from the Munich film and television college, has stubbornly pursued his aim of producing American action films in Germany.

Emmerich, a special effects expert, has amazed the film world with his horror and science fiction films. They constantly include astonishingly good tricks, as in his latest *Hollywood Monster*, with a very weak script that, a few years ago, would have made egg-head cinéastes turn up their noses.

The generation change in the New German Film takes place so swiftly that it can only be compared chronologically with the common fly. But there is method in this.

Some of the signatories of the 1965 Oberhausen Manifesto, now over 20 years on, regard the founder generation of the New German Film as being "subtile falsifiers of reality."

While a few old-hands lament the death of the irreplacable Rainer Werner Fassbinder, and complain that they don't get enough subsidies from the state and no-one now takes any notice of their work, the younger generation of film-makers are rearing to go.

RHEINISCHER MERKUR

Matthias Glasner reminds his older colleagues of Francois Truffaut, "who, at the beginning never had a penny and went into debt so as to make his films."

Glasner, 22 and from Hamburg, has followed Truffaut's example and has made a 75-minute-long experimental film, *Requiem*. The film is clearly based on the panic caused by Aids. An epidemic breaks out into a world filmed in dazzling colours. No-one can explain where the epidemic originated and how it was passed on. Peopl who are infected have to go into a ghetto. M., an inhabitant, tries to escape from the prison, but he finds that the world outside and the prison are the same.

Most of the audience at the première of the film left the cinema via the fire exits within the first quarter of an hour of this indigestible fare.

Glasner was not put off by this. He said: "I must, I have to make films." He added that when he was just over eight he made his first short film.

"I try to make films about everything that I do not understand. Then usually I understand it," he explained.

His next film will deal with the things that go on between men and women.

Allary, Hoffmann and Glasner are all enthusiastic about their work even if they cannot kindle the same enthusiasm for it among the public. They take the view that there are enough themes going for the New German Film.

They and their seniors "from the tennis shoes generation" are now getting ready to conquer the telly. They have big ideas in direct contrast to their meager funds they have available. Hugh Hoffmann's father, producer Günter Hoffmann, financed him to the tune of DM60,000, and there is hardly one film-maker today in Germany who gets by without the public television networks.

Joseph Rusnak said that about 80 per cent of all full-length films screened on the First and Second Television Channels are co-productions. Despite cutbacks in television planning public television networks are, next to state subsidies, essential patrons of the New German Film.

Ralf Huettner commenting on these subsidies said: "Basically we no longer make films for the cinema. I can only use certain kinds of themes for television, but for the cinema I can show what is really important to me."

Huettner and Rusnak have both made films for television. Rusnak filmed the Georges Simenon novel *Das Fenster der Rouet*. This was the first of thirteen hour-long co-productions to be made with other European stations. The basis in literature for these films are the unknown psychological novels of the creator of the detective Maigret.

In Rusnak's film version Dominique (played by Billie Zöckler) witnesses a murder. Through her window she sees how her neighbour, the attractive Antoinette (Hannelore Elsner) kills her husband by failing to give him assistance.

Dominque, a lonely woman, does not betray the murderess, but secretly observes her, identifying herself with the beautiful criminal.

Ralf Huettner's film, *Das Mädchen mit den Feuerzeugen*, is a comedy. Comedy has had a shadowy existence in the New German Film movement. Doris Dörrie's *Männer* was an exception that was a considerable success among West German film-goers.

Heuttner's comedy will be screened on West Germany's Second Television Channel on 24 December. On Christ*mas Eve four men in wheel-chairs pinch DM20,000 from the Bethany home for* the handicapped, donated by the city of Munich.

Actually they wanted to repair the shower on the third floor with the DM20,000.

Kleeblatt, one of the handicapped men, full of despair tries hard to blow the money. An angel helps him.

Rusnak's exciting film with well-known television actors and actresses or Heuttner's extremely funny film which despite its touchy theme is never an embarrassing Christmas story, are more pleasing than the films from film-makers in their 20s.

Rusnak and Huettner give assurances that they wanted to make quite different films.

Rusnak confessed: "We have a problem. We can no longer make a film that is not commissioned in one way or another."

The West German film-going public, 80 per cent of whose film fare comes from America, is used to top quality. In America, productions that cost about DM10m are regarded as extremely cheap, low-budget productions. A German director would walk his feet off as a rule for such a production budget. Rusnak said: "Of course you can make a film for DM50,000 but a demanding public will not always want to see it."

He and Huettner graduated from the Munich film and television college. The problem for West German film-makers is that "good films cost money, a lot of money."

Since its establishment in Oberhausen in 1965 the New German Film has been concerned with how to raise money.

Then, in the 1960s, there was very little cash around for the promotion of West German films. Now sources of cash are bubbling up all over the place.

Paul Schereit, the well-known documentary film-maker, expressed the view that he was surprised that by comparison with other countries there was plenty of support for directors, but script-writers and short-film makers "have not been able to get out of their difficulties."

The enthusiasm for the risky business of film-making declines with many directors as they get older. Those who can get established make plans that go along with the rich living available from the states and the television networks.

Only a few, such as Katrin Seybold finance their films themselves. She said that she did it, "because I can't find any producers."

Katrin Seybold was born in Poland in 1943. She created a stir with her film *Das falsche Wort*. She herself said that was a scandal.

The film was a documentary of the crimes committed during the Third Reich against gypsies.

In the course of her reseaches in East Germany she stumbled on files that revealed that former concentration camp thugs appeared as experts in compensation proceedings and so were able to prevent any kind of compensation.

Michael Busch, 24, and Ernst Kubitza, 30, are bright sparks as regards quality and content in West German film-making. They have produced "the first German silent movie in the talkies era."

The story of mad Professor Ofenberg who, in our time, makes a bomb from radio-active contaminated milk and vegetables. The tale recalls in many ways the silent filmstar who played Dr Mabuse, Rudolf Klein-Rogge.

The film, *Macht des Wahrsinns*, made this year in Mannheim, is fascinating because of its originality.

Michael Busch said: "We had DM30,000. We could either have made a bad talkie with that sum or a good silent film."

He studied drama and produced his silent film with a hand-cranked camera. He said: "We soaked the developed film in a wooden tub as they did in the 1920s."

Busch and Kubitza accompany the flickering film with their own piano compositions.

Public taste has been tickled by the problems of Chernobyl in a cinematic joke. In contrast to many moral, finger-pointing films from past years in the New German Film movement, that could have been made by senior primary school teachers, something new has been shown on screens over the past few years. It is again possible to laugh in

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■ THE ARTS

Shortcomings in film-director experiment at Bayreuth

Handelsblatt
WIRTSCHAFTS- UND FINANZZEITUNG

Wolfgang Wagner's courage is to be admired. Film-maker Werner Herzog, whom he commissioned to direct the new Bayreuth *Lohengrin*, has only directed opera a few times in his apprenticeship years.

Unlike film director Werner Schröter and before him Zefirelli and Johannes Schaaf, Herzog did not feel at home in opera.

He himself said that he had only seen five operas live. The novelty character, that has been a feature of the second "New Bayreuth" era since Chereau's *Ring*, was apparent again then.

The result was not so startling as had been expected. Those who expected the creator of the suggestive *Herz aus Glas* and the Kaspar Hauser films to bring the power and density of his filming to Bayreuth were disappointed.

What Herzog did offer was last-century romantic opera in a big cinema setting.

It seems that Herzog and his scene and costume designer Henning von Gierke very much had the work as a whole in mind. There were beautiful pastel-toned costumes, partly trimmed with musquash. The stage was framed by branches from trees as we know them from film sets:

The chorus was decoratively grouped instead of being lined up. The scenes were dominated by symmetry. The direction of the performers was strangely vague and undramatic.

The dramatic high points, such as the fight between the Swan Knight and Telramund in the first act and Telramund's attempt to commit murder. The evil man was laid low in slow motion. The four noblemen from Brabant were petrified.

There was too much standing around and there was too little choreography, too much that was clumsy.

In a television interview Wolfgang Wagner said that the music would be "directed" as a film is directed. This was a euphemism.

Herzog directed neither against the music nor with it, and that is not good enough for Bayreuth. In the 1970s Wolfgang Wagner himself was technically much better in the works he directed.

A gloomy winter light dominated the first scene through which the sun did not penetrate. The atmosphere recalls Caspar David Friedrich's *Mönch am Meer*.

The chorus was formed into three groups. The soloists moved (or rather stood) between seven boulders formed into a circle.

The stage was darkened at Lohengrin's entrance. The saviour arrived from an endless spiral at whose end a blue light appeared and from which swirls of mist whirled over the whole of the forestage.

In this highly-dramatic scene, from the musical point of view, in which everything ought to be exciting and full of movement, the soloists stood still and the chorus disappeared in the mist.

Herzog directed the combat scene neatly and tidily. At the end, march off in file to the right.

There was an interesting moment in the second act when Ortrud and Telramund seemed to have grown closer together like the stone against which they were leaning.

There was no great hall, no boudoir, just a half-ruined Gothic wall to the right hand representing the court's dwelling and the minster where Ortrud and Telramund disturbed the bridal procession.

Only in this scene was there any kind of tension because the villains, Telramund and Ortrud, whose singing dominated, were directed less mechanically.

A low-slung moon lit up their gloomy dialogue. The moon and the stars in heaven were reflected in splashing waters.

In the following scene this pool had disappeared. Pages waved palm branches and the chorus weaved its way charmingly over the hills.

The nuptial chamber scene in the third act was an error of taste. There was a huge, silver bridal bed. (Herzog had to use Thomas Mann's "blue-silver beauty" which, it seems, is now obligatory for *Lohengrin*.) This bed stood in the middle of the ring of boulders surrounded by a blue horizon. It was decoratively draped with wreaths of pine from which the attackers, led by Telramund, emerged.

The last scene corresponds to the first, except that snow has fallen, was still falling, right up to the last bar of Ortrud's threats to Elsa. The drama had not yet ended.

Mist whirls about again in Lohengrin's farewell. The boy Duke Gottfried stands in the light with his swan rig-out on, which Lohengrin stripped off him like a life jacket.

All in all this production of the opera did not live up to the romanticism it promised. It never illuminated the clash between two worlds, internal conflict and the world of the outsider. Courtly ritual and action held back dominated.

The musical star of the evening was the chorus, that made the most of every nuance. The diction was crystal clear and heightened the drama.

There is no other opera in the world that has such tonal homogeneity.

In the ensemble scenes the soloists gave of their all.

In the robust parts, Ekkehard Wlaschiha (Telramund) or Gabriele Schnaut (Ortrud) produced everything they had right to their limits. This meant that Ortrud's last scene was screamed rather than sung.

The King's Herald (James Johnson) found it difficult keeping up while Manfred Schenk as the King, Henry the Fowler, did not have to tax his bass voice too much. Catarina Ligendza stepped into the role as Elsa von Brabant at the last minute, replacing the indisposed débutant Nadine Secunde. She cannot be praised enough.

It was no small test of abilities for Ligendza to sing the lyrical role of Elsa in *Lohengrin* and also Isolde in this year's Bayreuth Festival. But for all our admiration for her she is not quite able to pull ot the high notes properly in this role.

The Canadian Paul Frey made his debute at Bayreuth in the title role. His clear, helden tenor voice was not quite polished enough. He has a typically "white" tenor voice, strongly throaty and not precise in breathing, so weakening his top notes. It seemed as if he had trouble with his vowels, the a was sounded deep in his throat.

Conductor Peter Schneider, an old Bayreuth hand, was remarkable in parts. *His Lohengrin* is hazy rather than atmospheric, always obliged to provide full-bodied harmony.

The prelude, whose string section must hover as if sounding from another world, was on the whole too loud without any refinement in its dynamics.

The dramatic passages were performed with brio. The tempo in the lyrical and key monologue passages (love duet and Lohengrin's Grail story) was held back too much.

The celestial quality, vital to this opera, was totally lacking.

Christian Herchenröder

(Handelsblatt, Düsseldorf, 31 July 1987)

'Musical direction not good enough for Bayreuth' . . . Werner Herzog's production of Lohengrin.

(Photo: Bayreuther Festspiele/Rauh)

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a German cinema. There is a demand for enteraining films, films for the viewer and not for an esoteric clique of film-makers. Yet Films that are not made of shallow material.

There are no definitions of content, no rules about form or style, for the the New German Film. It was always a collecting tank of the work of various individuals.

But from generation to generation there has been a change in its relationship to the media.

After the era of the children of the economic miracle has followed the generation of "younger brothers" who had everything, who no longer had to struggle and who had more freedom in selecting their themes.

Fun is called for, despite, or perhaps because of, Chenobyl and Aids.

Jan-Richard Schuster

(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, Bonn, 10 July 1987)

Music lessons from some masters

Leonard Bernstein, the great encourager, showed how a band of 120 music students couild be whipped up into a supple and successful orchestra in the shortest possible time in the first concerts in the Schleswig-Holstein Music Festival.

In a second round of music in the Salzau Music Academy on the Selenter See, Sergiu Celibedache rubbed off some of his temperament to a group of young musicians. Wise conductors know what they owe the coming generation of players.

Claudio Abbado is also well-known for having strong academic enthusiasms. For a long time he has worked with the Chamber Orchestra of Europe and the Gustav Mahler Youth Orchestra with considerable success. Fortunately neither his duties at La Scala, Milan nor in Vienna have interferred with these engagements.

He has promoted the Chamber Orchestra of Europe for the past ten years. He is now appearing as a guest conductor at the second Schleswig-Holstein Music Festival where he and his young musicians were applauded wildly. The members of this chamber orchestra, all first-class musicians, have to commit themselves for six months and be prepared to appear as soloists or in other chamber orchestra combinations.

They have freshness, brilliance, spontaneity and refinement in their playing, qualities that world-famous, older orchestras cannot always provide.

A joy of playing, a pleasure in intelectual and emotional adventures, cannot be conjured up on command. These young European musicians knew how to gain the most from their talent.

Three works, not regarded as important works for major orchestras but which cannot in any way be handled as minor works, excited the enthusiasm of Abbado and his musicians. These three works made considerable demands on the players, particularly in the brass section.

Abbado conducted Brahms' Second Serenade lightly but at the same time with considerable warmth, bringing out the music's qualities marvellously.

Abbado took Schubert's Sixth Symphony seriously, written when the composer was 20. Many believe it denies his genius because it is so derivative from Rossini and Beethoven.

Abbado sought to counteract the repeats of the subjects by surprisingly powerful emphases, without thereby neglecting the precision of the gentle melodic line. It was a Schubert full of grace that stood in contrast to jaunty ribaldry.

The final concert was given in the Lübeck Stadthalle with Stravinsky's Pulcinella Suit. Abbado and his refined orchestra certainly brought more than cool humour to Stravinsky's fresh paraphrase of Pergolesi.

Klüre Warnecke

(Die Welt, Bonn, 31 July 1987)

■ ANTHROPOLOGY

Assignment in the Andes: the doctorita and the Callawaya medicine men

STUTTGARTER ZEITUNG

An Ulm University anthropologist, Ina Rösing-Diederich, is engaged in a lone study of the rituals of Callawaya Indian medicine men in the rain- and cold-swept Bolivian highlands 260km by road from La Paz.

She plans to document a civilisation threatened by extinction in a series of books under the heading Mundo Ankari. The first volume, entitled *Die Verbannung der Trauer* (The Banishment of Mourning), has been published by Greno-Verlag, Nördlingen.

She is also trying to find out what psychological processes are involved in an overall approach to sickness and health that in part goes back to Inca traditions.

Professor Rösing, 45, normally works at the Ulm University psycho-social centre in the psychotherapeutic processes research unit.

Her South American research, funded by the Robert Bosch Foundation and the Scientific Research Association (DFG), may have no direct connection with her work back home, but she finds the atmosphere in Ulm most congenial.

Or is it a contradiction in terms to say that it enables her to spend months and years away from her office in the former School of Design sharing an unheated hut 3,200 metres up in the Andes with slugs, spiders and fleas?

At first glance she looks as though she might be a business executive. She is slender, blonde and smartly dressed in plain but elegant grey with a red necklace.

It is certainly hard to imagine her out in the wilds. She doesn't create the impression of being a devil-may-care tomboy.

Yet even travelling to her research area, the Callawaya region in Bautista Saavedra province, north-east of Lake Titicaca, is an adventure in itself.

It takes over 12 hours, and up to twice as long when breakdowns occur, to drive there from La Paz by truck along rough country tracks.

The road comes to an end in a village of about 300 people, the provincial "capital."

"The mountain tracks," Frau Rösing writes, "are narrow and full of loose scree. You are bound to have an accident sooner or later if you travel extensively at night as I do.

"I once nearly fell into a ravine, but after falling three metres I landed in the cactus lining the cliff face, cactuses with thorns 10cm long.

"A medicine man treated my open sores and scratches with wet leaves and cobwebs. I had just recovered from a bout of typhoid.

"When you wake up at night recovering from the shock with your skin covered in cobwebs you are bound to feel at times that working in a laboratory might be a little more pleasant."

Professor Rösing did not make a beeline for a remote corner of the Andes solely in search of a storybook Indian world in order to lick psychological wounds of her own.

She would seem to be a person with both feet firmly on the ground, as it were. She is married. Her husband, a physicist, is surprisingly understanding when it comes to her work, which he realises she is keen to devote herself to heart and soul.

The reason for her somewhat unusual research preoccupation must be sought in her academic career.

When she came to Ulm a little over a decade ago she and her students first dealt intensively with how to handle patients who were seriously ill or dying.

She wrote a comprehensive manual entitled *Die Begleitung Sterbender* (Handling Terminal Patients).

Psychotherapeutic interest was the starting-point of her research in South America, work she herself categorises under the heading "ethno-medical research."

She first learnt about the Callawaya Indians in any detail in South American libraries, but as a teenager she had accompanied her mother, also an anthropologist, on research projects, which was how she came to speak fluent Spanish.

But she soon came to realise that she would only be able to track down travelling medicine men and faith healers if she learnt their language.

So she set out to learn Quechua, which is fundamentally different from Indo-European languages and subdivided into a plethora of dialects.

The meaning of words is changed by infixes, or syllables inserted into the middle of words.

They are portmanteau words Europeans find hard to understand. She spent at least an hour a day for three years learning the language.

Linguistic fluency alone was not the key to what, for Europeans, is an alien civilisation. How was she as a woman in a male-oriented Indian society to gain access to secret rituals?

She succeeded. In conversation she testifies to a keen sense of understanding how other people feel. She can also wait and listen without losing track of her target.

As she says in her book: "I don't set about a 'primitive' civilisation with my 'highly-developed' intellect in order to unlock its secrets with a simply-carved, cognitive key.

"Mine is the 'primitive' mind. It has to grow. My language, my categories and theories are not what matter; what matters is to explain the alien civilisation in its own terms — as far as possible, and metaphorically speaking."

In her book Ina Rösing can be seen to work like a reporter, with a camera, tape recorder and notebook. She describes graphically and in detail how a medicinal ritual is performed. She has attended hundreds of them.

Her researches have benefited from the fact that Indians do not isolate themselves like doctor and patient in therapy sessions, preferring the group instead.



Laboratory work might be more pleasant, but . . . Professor Ina Rösing-Diederich. (Photo: Simon Rusch)

She has taken part in rituals, chewed coca leaves like the others, drunk pure alcohol diluted with water, had fresh-spun wool run round her.

She too has had a hamster applied to her neck to suck out the troubles and sorrows.

She suffered setbacks too, of course. After revisiting Europe she suddenly found herself facing an atmosphere of cold and mistrust. An insensitive western camera team had upset the Indians while she was away.

So she decided to bide her time. She worked as a shepherd, waiting patiently until the *doctorita*, as she was known, was readmitted to the fold, as it were.

She has ambitious further plans. In December or early next year her second book, entitled *Dreifältigkeit und Orte der Kraft* (Trinity and Places of Power) is due to appear.

Dealing with white magic, it will concentrate on "gentleness, finding one's soul and reconciliation."

Ina Rösing reveals not only part of an alien civilisation but also a religion combining Christian and heathen features and — and poetry.

"Ankari (the series title) means the wind," says medicine man *Marcos*. "It carries our prayer to places of power."

Callawaya prayers are lyrical in an intensive and strangely touching manner: "You are the messenger of this Earth, o Ankari, prepare for the sacrificial victim's reception!" — It might be a poem.

Her third book, dealing with "black medicine" and to be entitled *Abwehr und Verderben* (Defence and Destruction), will look into a particularly tricky issue, that of black magic (the variety that does damage).

She is determined to devote academic care and attention to the topic but is afraid her research work might end up in the wrong hands and eventually destroy what she is trying to record for posterity.

Callawaya healers and medicine men may still work in La Paz, the Bolivian capital, but the Andean region is in the throes of change.

Many people have left the hills and headed for the cities. So Frau Rösing is worried lest her research findings give rise to superficial curiosity on the part of Western tourists who visit this remote region to see for themselves exotic ways and what they take to be black

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■ THE ENVIRONMENT

'Combination of causes' for forest deaths

The threat to the world's forests was the main topic at the 14th International Botanical Congress in Berlin, where 3,800 scientists from 80 countries met.

It has become clear that the causes of tree diseases are much more varied than was once thought.

The advisory council to the Bonn government has specified five different forms of damage in various parts of Germany.

Professor Hubert Ziegler of Munich University told the congress there were now clear pointers to the combination of causes.

He regretted that the annual forest white paper merely listed the extent of damage and not the forms and the conditions in various locations.

Scientists seem to have made progress towards explaining the yellowing and loss of needles to spruce trees at high altitudes in the Mittelgebirge. It is a fairly new form of damage in Germany, say most authorities.

They say it is the result of an imbalance in the quantity of essential magnesium and potassium in plant cells, an imbalance that affects the trees' needles whenever spruce forests are affected by a high level of nitric oxides.

Latest findings of field experiments show the needles to suffer from damage to a number of important pigments when the magnesium and potassium count is thrown out of balance and the nitrogen count in the air is too high, especially the level of ammonia.

Professor Ziegler said a high ozone count was unlikely to be directly to blame for this damage.

Laboratory tests had shown the count of various pigments in spruce needles to change under the influence of ozone, but this was not the case with needles in the areas affected.

In other areas different combinations of factors are felt to be to blame. In the Erzgebirge region serious tree damage is clearly due to an extremely high sulphur dioxide count in the air.

In the Fichtelgebirge needles already damaged by SO_2 are further hit by late frost.

In the limestone Alps a shortage of potassium and manganese was a further factor, causing needles to turn yellow and wilt.

The reason or reasons for this shortage of essential elements are unknown. Neither nitric oxides nor sulphur dioxide have been found in large quantities in the air. Maybe atmospheric ozone is here the key factor. Another area where the situation is specific and different is the region between the Alps and the Danube, where needles have tended to turn red and die at lower altitudes.

Professor Ziegler says this is mainly due to fungus affecting trees previously damaged by frost. The latest forest white paper reported an improvement in this area to an extent found nowhere else.

In an interview with *Die Welt* Professor Ziegler drew a number of conclusions from these preliminary findings.

Harmful substances in the air were mainly to blame for tree damage in some cases but of no importance in others. So all sources of atmospheric pollution must continue to be reduced.

In addition, forest damage must be specified in all reports according to region, altitude and special conditions in the areas affected.

Hard hit though European forests may be, botanists are even more worried about the threat to tropical rain forests. British ecologist Norman Myers told the congress an estimated 40,000 higher plant species were in acute danger of extinction and would probably cease to exist within 20 to 30 years.

It would be the most comprehensive destruction of species since plants first appeared in the early stages of terrestrial evolution.

The ever faster rate of destruction is due mainly to deforestation in the tropics. Tropical rain forests account for only six per cent of the Earth's land surface area but are home for half the higher plant species.

Year by year, Myers said, one per cent of the jungle is destroyed and a further per cent is hit by creeping destruction and a decline in the number of surviving flora.

Damage is mainly due to the felling of valuable timber, which is done in such a way that much useless timber is also felled.

Then there are the repercussions of forest clearance for purposes of cultivation. In Eastern Brazil 90 per cent of the forest has been cleared — in one way or the other — and at least 2,500 species of plant have gone for good.

He noted that this depletion also had serious effects on the climate and on the future outlook for living conditions in this part of the world.

Besides, the tropics were a major reservoir of potential crop plants and genetic material by which to improve existing crop plants.

Ludwig Kürten

(Die Welt, Bonn, 28 July 1987)

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magic. Professor Rösing may be in two minds about the public effect of her work, but she is delighted to have been awarded the Ulm municipal science prize for the first volume in her Mundo Ankari series.

She sees this distinction as a token of recognition for all who have helped her with her difficult research work: her fund donors, her university colleagues and her publishers, who have issued the excitingly written yet academic work in an inexpensive paperback edition.

Annegret Bock

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 28 July 1987)

Astronauts

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years in a Bundeswehr parachute unit. His speciality, amplitude spectroscopy in solid states, includes breeding and analysing monocrystals.

His wife and three children, aged seven, five and two, still live in Aachen. Schlegel has worked in Reutlingen, Baden-Württemberg, for the past year.

He works for a manufacturer of physical measuring and test equipment.

An exemplary family man as he sees it must take the family to the zoo and find time to tolerate and encourage imagination and creativity.

Skiing and surfing, cross-country running and basketball are his hobbies, followed by doing complicated jobs around the house.

Herr Walter, of Iserlohn, Westphalia, studied physics in Cologne. Married, no children, he says — but not for long; his wife is expecting a child shortly.

He too has spent much of his academic career in the United States — at Berkeley, California.

He failed his preliminary exams in mathematics and decided that theory wasn't for him, so he concentrated on tunnel microscopy, a means of making atoms visible. He is very much concerned with the exciting race to discover new materials for use as supraconductors.

He and the other four will now undergo the exacting space training programme. But hard work lies ahead of them right now.

Well over 300 applications for interviews with the five have been made to the Federal Research Ministry — especially interviews with the two women.

Dieter Thierbach

(Die Welt, Bonn, 3 August 1987)

Industrial histories revealed by tree-trunk rings

DER TAGESSPIEGEL

Tree trunk rings have long been used as a source of information in reconstructing the past, shedding light on a tree's age and on climate conditions in its life-span.

Environmentalists are now keenly interested in dendochronology as a source of important information on what may cause tree death epidemics.

A Saarbrücken University biochemist, Hans-Ulrich Meisch, has isolated rings, divided them into their chemical components and analysed them.

The result was a certain pattern of chemical elements indicating the relative concentration of vital nutrients and trace elements.

The basic issue Dr Meisch and his colleagues faced in connection with the benefit to be derived from biochemical dendrochronology was whether individual elements stayed put in the newly-formed ring or moved to other parts of the trunk.

The chemical composition of the tree at the time the ring took shape can only be specified for sure if individual substances stay in place, as it were.

The concentrations of such mobile elements as sodium and potassium cannot be said to be particularly reliable.

Calcium and magnesium and traces of iron, manganese and zinc seem, in contrast, to be so firmly linked to the wood structure that their presence is conclusive in itself.

Biochemists in the United States and in Europe have separately analysed wood samples from different locations and arrived, independently of each other, at the conclusion that the element pattern of tree trunk rings is a telltale sign of the industrial history of entire regions.

Smokestacks in various industries undeniably make their mark in the cross-section of a tree trunk. Counts of metals such as copper, cadmium, calcium, manganese, magnesium and iron are particularly revealing.

Higher concentrations of these substances can be measured in individual rings decades later.

With the support of the Saar forestry department Dr Meisch has analysed tree rings to see whether he can establish a link between tree deaths and specific chemical element patterns in the wood.

He has analysed samples taken from copper beech trees in various seriously-affected parts of the Saar and found copper beech rings to tell a clear tale of environmental history.

The vicissitudes of industrial history in what is a longstanding coal and steel area can be reconstructed in exact detail by means of chemical analysis.

About 15 years ago, for instance, a change evidently took place in the trees' mineral make-up that led to progressive, drastic change in the chemical pattern of their rings.

In areas with a combination of acid rain and sandstone the highest calcium and magnesium counts were found to have occurred in periods when iron and steel boomed in the Saar.

Calcium and magnesium counts have declined markedly in the rings of copper beeches of all ages since 1970, coinciding with a period of relative industrial decline.

Interestingly enough, these lower concentrations also coincide with lower particle emission levels and a corresponding decline in the concentration of these elements in the soil.

Dr Meisch views with particular dismay the fairly high shortfall of essential elements such as calcium, magnesium, manganese and zinc stored in the wood.

This shortfall has also been noted in beech trees growing in limestone areas, while higher concentrations of iron and aluminium have been found in trees growing in acid soil (aluminium being rated a toxin).

Regardless of soil category, Dr Meisch reports a substantial increase in the phosphate count in recent rings.

This "wastage" of so much phosphorus in the wood may initially come as a surprise, bearing in mind that phosphorus normally impedes plant growth (a fact long known by farmers, who use fertiliser to boost crop yield).

The sulphur make-up of most trees seems to have changed lately, with older beech trees in areas exposed to heavy pollution registering a heavy sulphur intake.

This is probably in direct response to the higher exposure to sulphur in the air, which can affect trees via both leaves and roots.

Given the various explanations that have been advanced to account for tree epidemics, Dr Meisch feels his findings permit only one conclusion:

"Industrial activity in recent decades, the steadily increasing consumption of fuel, especially fossil fuels, has affected the living conditions of trees to such an extent that fundamental metabolic factors have been thrown off balance."

Magnesium and manganese play crucial roles in photosynthesis. The ratio of organic to anorganic phosphate decides the extent to which a plant produces biomass or sets aside reserves.

Elements such as calcium and zinc play a no less vital part in enzyme processes. So it is hardly surprising that trees are steadily declining in vitality.

Wilhelm Irsch

(Der Tagesspiegel, Berlin, 18 July 1987)



Eight dilapidated houses owned by the city of Hamburg in the inner-city district of St. Pauli have become the hottest on-going issue in the city-state. The houses, in a waterfront street called Hafenstrasse, have been listed for demolition but are occupied by squatters. Television crews have been having a field day with demonstrators and squatters and sympathisers clashing with riot police. Last month, police moved in and evicted the squatters. But they moved back in and put up the barricades. Barbed wire has been laid, ground-floor windows covered by grilles, pitfalls dug and hollards erected on he footpath and loudspeakers on the roofs. The mayor of Hamburg, Klaus von Dohnanyi, was called back from a holiday on the North Sea island of Sylt for urgent discussions as the crisis worsened. Afterwards he talked directly with the squatters and their representatives, one of whom was later revealed to be a sympathiser of the Red Army Faction terror organisation who actually took part in a raid in 1978. Then Jan Philipp Reemtsma entered the picture. This tobacco heir who pulled out of the business six years ago, taking his money with him, is described by newspapers as a left-wing capitalist. He offered to buy the houses and allow the tenants to remain in them. It is reported that both von Dohnanyi (SPD) and the head of the city's Free Democrat faction, Ingo von Münch, were in favour of accepting but were unable to persuade their party colleagues (the parties are taking part in drawn-out talks over a coalition to replace the SPD's minority government.) No one knows what the next step in the saga, which has been dragging on for years, might be, or if the last word has yet to be heard on the Reemtsma solution. In this article for the Hamburg weekly, *Die Zeit*, Karl-Heinz Büschemann looks at Reemtsma, the retiring, reluctant tycoon who holds the key to the crisis.

■ CURIOSITIES

The lonely, faceless millionaire and the Siege of Hafenstrasse

Squatters have been occupying dilapidated houses in Hamburg's Hafenstrasse for years. Successive efforts to get them out permanently and pull the houses down have failed. The issue has been on the boil for years and there is no end in sight.

But now an odd twist has occurred: an industrial tycoon, Jan Philipp Reemtsma, has offered to buy the disputed houses and let the tenants remain.

But the Hamburg city administration is not quite convinced. Spokesman Thomas Mirow, reflecting the SPD administration's worries, said there would first have to be assurances about that, guarantees about this, responsibility would have to be taken... etc. It is a touchy affair, tinged with violence. The city's aim is to cool it.

There are eight decaying houses and about 100 squatters involved and the area has an almost state-of-emergency atmosphere.

Reemtsma, who is only 34, cannot understand the politicians. All he wants to do is to take the houses over without conditions and leave the occupiers to live in their own way — and without him interfering with them.

He says: "An offer should be made to the occupiers and, politically, a way ought to be found to do it."

He puts much of the blame on the State itself for the fact that over the past five years, there have been recurring clashes between the squatters and the police; plus forced evictions; with the squatters keeping on coming back.

He says the main part of the problem would be solved if he could buy the houses, which have been turned into virtual fortresses.

Reemtsma can afford to stand beyond the State and the politics behind the affair. In 1980, as a 28-year-old literature student, he sold his majority holding in the Hamburg cigarette business of Reemtsma Cigarettenfabrik GmbH, which he had inherited from his father, Philipp Fürchtegott Reemtsma, who died when Jan Reemtsma was just seven. The price was 300 million marks.

The young Reemtsma didn't want to be a businessman so he freed himself from the shackles of business and started doing what he wanted to do: and it wasn't the sort of thing that people who inherit large amounts of money usually do.

He is an aesthete who prefers to give out money for cultural and scientific purposes rather than invest it in cigarette machines. His first act as a benefactor was to back an author called Arno Schmidt in the last years of his life. He is now editing the diary of Schmidt's widow, Alice. This, he says, is a long-term project.

Reemtsma's fortune has probably, through sound investment, doubled by now. He is using some of it to finance an Arno Schmidt Foundation. He also supports the Hamburg Institute for Social Research, an institute he founded; he supports a Theodor W. Adorno bibliotek; and an archives which investigates women's issues.

He says he has no great desire to be a philanthropist; he just just wants to do what he thinks is important.

Reemtsma says he left the firm because he didn't think he was cut out to be a businessman. And, he says apologetically, he didn't want to burden the firm. But since he got out, the firm has nose-dived in the face of stiff competition. In cold cash terms, it could be said he made the right commercial decision. Perhaps, could it conceivably be that he isn't quite such an unworldly person, after all?

But there is no doubt that he is a shy person. He admits that he has always been alone, from childhood. This aloneness, this loneliness, led him to the world of books and away from the other world of commerce.

When his contemporaries and acquaintances jetted around with abandon, Reemtsma seldom left Hamburg. "I have no need to travel," he says of his lifestyle in a way which demonstrates his inner tranquillity. "After all, I can read."

DIE ZEIT

But there are disquieting aspects about his way of life. Although his institute was set up in the middle of a trendy, lively and popular Hamburg suburb, Pöseldorf, this pale and uncertain-looking man in his middle 30s with thinning brown hair and moustache is reluctant to open up his world to other people.

A person like this inevitably creates speculation. A man who becomes involved in a public issue with a high profile, Hafenstrasse, yet who privately remains remote from it; a man who is super rich yet who disdains his wealth; this is all bound to provoke the public imagination.

It inevitably makes people ask: is he merely an oddball? Or something worse? Few people even know what he looks like. What is he? He is known as "a capitalist with extreme left-wing views" (*Frankfurter Rundschau*).

When Reemtsma says he has no thought-through plan for his work and his life ("I do concrete things, I have no overall concept") then it is not surprising people look upon him as an unpredictable loony.

When he sold the business, *Die Welt*, the Springer stable daily, was aghast. "Hare- brained," it called him. The Munich daily, *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, thought the price far too low.

And now, the Hamburg city administration finds itself compelled to rack Reemtsma's brains for him to find out what makes it tick. One Hamburg Social Democrat said, with sympathy: "I don't think that Reemtsma knows himself what he has let himself in for with the Hafenstrasse."

But whose problem is it really if Reemtsma doesn't try and shoulder his way into newspaper columns, doesn't let himself be photographed and, despite it all, still manages to get things done?

Even the weekly magazine, *Der Spiegel*, had to accept defeat. It is not used to failure, but this time it failed. It wanted to run a cover story on Reemtsma and explained that if he couldn't provide a photograph, it couldn't very well run a cover story.

"Suits me," said Reemtsma.

Not even the gossip columnists or the tabloid Press have managed to dig up anything — not even a whiff of an affair with a woman.

Reemtsma wants to remain anonymous and, when you meet him, you get the feeling that he has been pretty successful.

It shows as he walks through his institute with his sagging shoulders slightly pushed forward, looking older than he is. His desire to be admired seems to be zero. Instead, he likes to bring influence to bear on things.

The Hamburg institute is meant to carry out historical research and "mitigate against collective forgetting." A central theme, for example, is torture all over the world. In his opinion, torture is not a rosult of human character defects or historical accidents — it has deeper roots than that.

Reemtsma has given himself the task of "giving the lie to historical lies." That's something that in Germany has implications wider than merely the portals of historians.

For example, one project he is backing is an investigation of Daimler-Benz's role during the Third Reich with the aim of not letting the past vanish from memory. It is a project that has not won him only friends.

Public name, private face . . . industrial heir Reemtsma. (Drawing: W. Wiese)

Every day he receives letters from people wanting something. There are the envious ones; and the scroungers wanting a touch of his wealth; an promoters wanting him as a benefactor; people wanting him to pay off their debts. He rejects them all.

But it is clear that he finds the process of rejection a somewhat awkward process: the way he rejects makes some people feel like unwanted evil doers. One sociologist who applied to the institute for an advertised job, got a rejection which he described as "rude".

So how did a man from the rarified layers of Hamburg society become involved in the blood-and-guts world of the Hafenstrasse? The squatters rang him up because they wanted tiles for the roofs.

Reemtsma agreed. "I decided to become involved because I could see that the way things were going, someone was going to get killed sooner or later." He is now a member of the Committee for the Defence of the Hafenstrasse. Fellow members include a clergyman and a judge.

The Hamburg government hopes still that the Hafenstrasse affair can be peacefully ended with Reemstma's help. Because whatever he does, whether it is naive or wrong, not even his opponents challenge his honorable intentions.

He doesn't want to profit from the houses — a rare enough phenomenon. (They have an elevated view over the Elbe and would be worth a lot of money redeveloped as blocks of flats, for example).

Reemtsma can fulfil every imaginable material wish, but he regards other things as more important, things that can't be bought. For example: "When someone whose views I value says, 'you did that well.'"

Then he adds with obvious relish: "Or when I upset the people who ought to be upset."

Karl-Heinz Büschemann

(Die Zeit, Hamburg, 31 July 1987)

■ HORIZONS

A bodyguard for all seasons — if you can afford one

NÜRNBERGER Nachrichten

I advanced across the thickly carpeted floor as stealthily as I could; I aimed the pistol at my quarry and fired. Suddenly I was on the floor. I was no longer the assailant but the assailed.

The shot had gone off, but it was a dummy and made more smoke and noise than anything else. Hans Kummer laughed and gently released his grip. The game was over. It was my first experience of bodyguard training — practical rather than theoretical.

Kummer is a bodyguard from Munich. He prefers to live in his office-apartment. He is a lone fighter in the well-sielded business of guarding people and security.

In America this kind of business is recording a growth rate of 40 per cent. In Germany security experts and bodyguards are experiencing a boom because of the mounting anxiety about terrorist attacks and crime.

More and more industry managers are giving themselves peace of mind by taking 24-hour security measures.

This is all to the good to a man such as Hans Kummer, well-trained, with experience from all over the world, always at the ready with a pistol in his hand.

Kummer was a telecommunications engineer. He said, and he said it as if it were a matter of course: "I could always shoot."

He was born in Switzerland. He began as a 14 year old practising shooting with his father's pistol. The hobby of his teenage years became a full-time job.

Today Hans Kummer concentrates on special contracts. His core clientele, drawn from medium-sized companies, have fears for their lives and their cash.

The average day in the life of a bodyguard can, for example, begin at seven in the morning in a first-class hotel in Bangkok, Manila or Singapore.

Conferences, business lunches or discreet excursions of a private nature — Kummer is there all the time, constantly watching the person whom he is commissioned to guard, eyes endlessly on what's going on around him.

He said: "You have to be ready for a kidnapping, a robbery, every minute of the day. You have to strain every nerve. A mistake could be fatal."

He seems to be almost too portly to be a bodyguard. But this impression is deceptive, perhaps deliberately so.

Kummer is an expert at close-quarter fighting and he can tell some stories.

Like the time he was in a bar in Yugoslavia and got into a little strife with eight fully-grown men.— a stranglehold and a few well-aimed punches and a woman at the bar was quickly rid of her impetuous admirers.

Or the attempted robbery by a street thief, who held up Kummer's client at pistol point. He has to do two-years hard labour now — this happened recently in North Thailand.

The police are bombarded day after day by calls from people, some of whom do have reason for worry and others who think they do. They have a kind of persecution complex. They say things such as: "My ex-friend will kill me." Or: "Somebody is always following me. Help me." Or simply: "I'm frightened."

Crime inspector Kirchmann of the Munich police said that in most cases the state offers no protection to the citizen, frightened in this way. He or she is "only given protection if the threat can be proven."

People in public life are divided into three categories: in considerable danger (guarded 24-hours a day), likely to be in danger, a medium stage (sporadic protection) and people in the least danger (put under observation).

It is an open secret that Bavarian Prime Minister Franz Josef Strauss, for example, is protected by ten bodyguards. But for some time the government has not been able to afford security guarantees for people at the government director level. Capacity has been overstrained.

People who can no longer sleep because of their fears, people who fear for their lives, turn to private operations. There are more than 1,000 firms in the Federal Republic active in this business today.

I visited the regional offices of a national security organisation. Video cameras kept everyone and everything under constant surveillance and room were separated by thick bullet-proof glass panes.

Everything was protected, secured, to perfection. No visitor was trusted, least of all any asking questions.

No-one likes talking about the security business. There is considerable anxiety about committing an indiscretion in the poker game involved in protecting people's lives.

This is particularly true since the murder of the Siemens executive Karl Heinz Beckurts and government official Gerold von Braunmühl.

These men died in terrorist attacks because of the failure of the complete security system.

Muscles are out

Top executives from trade and industry, the highly qualified élite, are the clients of security companies, Konrad Mayer proudly said. He heads the branch office of a security company.

He said that it was best to forget all the clichés involving bodyguards. "Body-guards with huge muscles have little chance of getting anywhere today," he said.

Mayer, a self-confident manager type and a former policeman, has only a tired smile for loners such as Hans Kummer.

Security operations, that companies offer in glossy prospectuses, appear to work to perfection. A limousine, fitted out with armoured plating (minimum cost DM300,000) and an alarm system are the basic recommendations for clients who are in danger.

Mayer said that every risk is worked over "until we can tackle it."

A tailor-made security concept is developed mercilessly from an observation of working, drinking and sleeping habits and life style. This amounts to a strategic job for Mayer's best professional, a former police commissioner in the crime squad.



Like their clients, bodyguard come in both sexes. (Photo: Sven Simon)

Mayer said: "We pick our people from state organisations and recruit them without further ado. No-one can resist for long the offer of more money, more personal freedom."

The personnel entrusted with a body-guarding operation work out their tactics on the spot. Between five to eight men are need to make up a 24-hour team. They draft the protection programme together.

It costs about DM1.5m a year. Details such as tricks and disguises obviously remain secret.

Klaus Hannekamp (whose name has been changed) said that it was sometimes a job that "bored you to death." He is 30, has a walrus moustache and gives the impression that he is a sober, inhibited man. He is dressed in a correct, grey suit and wears a tie, but one is aware that he is physically in top condition.

He has eight years' experience as a bodyguard behind him, and now heads a squad.

He said: "Waiting, always waiting. In front of the house, the conference room, in the car. Now I don't find it so bad. It's routine."

Hannekamp has long proved that he can take a lot. He is a kind of foundation stone in a security operataion. He said: "Danger comes if you are not careful."

The magic formula that teaches fallible men to reduce risk to a minimum is called "Psychological self-assessment." You are good. You are something special and you know what you have to do. Your god is your service instructions.

Klaus Hannekamp always lives his life in the shadows.

He likes to maintain good relations with the family of his client — he does not have family of his own. You can count the number of his friends on the fingers of one hand.

He said that he had no time for friends. "On duty day and night, abroad, an irregular life, chaotic."

"Do you have worries?" My direct question brought a smile to his normally unsmiling face. He replied: "You can't have anxiety in this job."

Earlier he probably had sweaty hands or his heart beat faster, memories that he dismissed by a wave of his hand.

Is a bodyguard a perfectly programmed robot, a faultlessly functioning machine?

The concepts of the terrorist as the enemy haunts the executive offices of security companies. Terrorists can ruin the best-laid, well-thought-out, neat and tidy security arrangements with one strategically placed bomb.

In these cases, and suddenly everyone involved is prepared to admit this, human error is at the root of things.

Why did Beckurt travel the same route, at the same time in a car that had no armoured plating? That was fatal madness, strategic sloppiness.

Hans Kummer takes the view that the under-paid officers, transferred to security work, were at fault. Mayer said: "We don't make mistakes like that."

Bodyguards to people are under constant threat. They are completely and utterly at the mercy of the fate of their clients, Klaus Hannekamp said.

"I enjoy it," he added. He has no private life and twice a year he is fitted out with a swish suit for his work.

He said: "It is exciting, a change, action. I'm never in the lime-light, but I'm in a key position. No-one gets past me."

But his days in the job are numbered. At the latest in his mid-40s must he give up. No bodyguard can go about in the job with a slipped disc.

Peter Eckert, a private detective, is to retire shortly. He was wearing leather trousers and a roll-top jumper when I met him. The atmosphere in his office-home is homely.

Over his desk there is a certificate from the Association of British Investigators.

Eckert is a detective of the old school. He is a former crime squad officer and learned his trade from the ranks.

He does not guard highly endangered people. He said: "That would be presumptuous."

His clients are, for example, old ladies who want to be accompanied to the safe deposit boxes in the bank. Or a building contractor who is constantly being harassed by a former employee.

He said: "These are cases that can usually be solved quickly." The fee is between DM60 and DM80 per hour.

He added: "The best thing to do is to deflect things. The ideal bodyguard operates defensively."

Eckert gives some gloomy forecasts. Body-guard companies are mushrooming. Business dealing with people's anxieties is flourishing.

He said: "Security is becoming a prohibitively expensive luxury commodity. People who have money can have themselves protected. People who really need protection are alone."

Dorotea Fröhlich

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